



FORERUNNERS AND COMPETITORS
OF THE PILGRIMS AND PURITANS

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OR

NARRATIVES OF VOYAGES MADE BY PERSONS
OTHER THAN THE PILGRIMS AND PURITANS
OF THE BAY COLONY TO THE SHORES OF
NEW ENGLAND DURING THE FIRST QUARTER
OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, 1601-1625
WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LABORS
OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH IN BEHALF OF
THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND

EDITED FOR THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY
OF BROOKLYN BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME I

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY

1912

TO
THE PRESENT AND FUTURE MEMBERS OF
THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY IN THE
CITY OF BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

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PREFACE.



IN a meeting of the directors of the New England Society of Brooklyn in the year 1906, a reference to the coming Jamestown Exposition of 1907 elicited the suggestion that Captain John Smith devoted far more of his time and energy to the development of New England than to that of Virginia. Out of that suggestion and the discussion that followed has grown this work, which is an attempt to show how many adventurers were visiting, exploring, describing, and even trying to occupy the New England coast during the years immediately preceding the successful settlements at Plymouth, Salem, and Boston. As far as possible the story is told in the exact words of one or more of the voyagers. Most of these narratives were included in the "Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes" of Samuel Purchas, and many of them have more recently reappeared in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in the publications of the Gorges Society and of the Prince Society, in Dr. Jameson's series of "Original Narratives of Early American History," and in Mr. George Parker Winship's volume entitled "Sailors' Narratives of New England Voyages, 1524-1624." Dr. Thwaites' edition

of "The Jesuit Relations" is a storehouse of information concerning the French explorers and colonizers, but apparently there is as yet no complete English translation of Lescarbot's history.

Some of the narratives are not easily accessible to the reading public, and these volumes are believed to be the first attempt to bring these stories all together in one publication. The editor has performed his part of the work in the vacation intervals of a busy life, and is painfully aware of the shortcomings that are likely to attend such a desultory mode of labor. He has endeavored only to bind together these original narratives in such a manner that they will tell their own story intelligibly.

It will be seen that the term "New England" has been extended to include the coast between Cape Breton and the mouth of the Hudson River, a liberty with geographical nomenclature which the character of these voyages rendered inevitable, and therefore presumably pardonable.

The editor gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness for courteous cooperation:

To Dr. James Phinney Baxter of Portland, Maine, for permission to use his edition of Christopher Levett's narrative as published by him for the Gorges Society of Maine;

To Dr. Henry S. Burrage, State Historian of Maine, for permission to use his edition of "The Relation of a Voyage to Sagadahoc" in the publications of the Gorges Society;

To the Prince Society of Boston through its Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Albert Matthews, for permission to use a portion of Dr. Charles Pomeroy Otis's translation of "The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain" with the critical notes of Dr. Edmund F. Slafter;

To Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, of Madison, Wisconsin, editor, and The Burrows Brothers Company of Cleveland, Ohio, publishers of "The Jesuit Relations," for permission to use the narratives of the French settlements in Acadia, 1610-1614;

To Dr. J. Franklin Jameson of the Carnegie Institution for friendly interest and counsel;

To Miss Emma Toedteberg, Librarian of the Long Island Historical Society, for courteous permission to use the library of that Society;

To Professor George W. Kirchwey of Columbia University and to the officers of the Columbia University Library for courtesies and assistance in the use of that library;

To Miss Herriott Clare Palmer for assistance in the preparation of material, and to Mrs. Charles W. Huguenin for assistance in translation;

To Mr. Elijah R. Kennedy, under whose presidency in the New England Society this work was begun, and also to Messrs. Isaac H. Cary and Frederic B. Pratt, former members of the Publication Committee, all of whom have manifested a helpful interest in the undertaking.

I.

INTRODUCTION: THE DEVELOPMENT AND INFLUENCE OF TRADING COMPANIES.



ALL the great maritime expeditions under the English flag for discovery in the northern part of the New World, in the age of Elizabeth and her immediate successor, followed one of five principal routes of exploration. Whatever the route, the purpose was either the commercial motive or the hope of finding precious metals, or a combination of the two.

1. The Search for the "Northwest Passage" around the New World.

The first and oldest effort was to find a northwesterly passage around the new lands to Cathay. The Spaniard closed the southern road, despite the fierce attacks and brilliant exploits of the Hawkinses, Cavendish, and Drake (1530-95). John Cabot's voyage in 1497 had fastened the English claim upon the extreme north of the new shores. For such reasons it seemed advisable, if possible, to reach the fabled wealth of India by sailing to the North. The father of the search for a northwest passage was Martin Frobisher (1535-94), whose three voyages occurred in 1576, 1577, and 1578. He discovered Frobisher's Strait and Bay, and entered what

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was afterward known as Hudson's Straits. The pieces of iron pyrites that he brought home in 1576 were thought to contain gold, and his next voyages were sustained by the Cathay Company, which was chartered for that purpose. In each of these expeditions he brought home cargoes of that worthless mineral.¹

It was at this time that Sir Francis Drake became the "Dragon" of the Spanish Main (1570-80) and made the name of "Englishman" a terror in the Spanish seas. Drake's voyage around the world occurred between 1577 and 1580. In the years while Philip II was preparing the Great Armada, in 1585, 1586, and 1587, John Davis also made three voyages and discovered Davis Straits. Meanwhile Sir Walter Raleigh became the leader of English discovery and colonization in America, and turned his attention away from the frozen North. The search for a northwest passage was not renewed until Elizabeth was dying and Raleigh's star was waning.

In 1602 the East India Company sent two vessels under George Waymouth and John Drew. They reached Davis Straits, and turned back on account of a mutiny. In 1605 James Hall and John Knight were sent from Copenhagen by Danish employers to find the northwest passage. In 1606, and again in 1607, Hall made a second and a third voyage under Danish auspices. In 1607 Knight was sent from Gravesend on the same errand by the English East India and Muscovy

¹ Cf. George Beste's "True Discourse of the Late Voyages of Discoverie for Finding of a Passage to Cathaya by the North-weast," London, 1578, reprinted in Hakluyt, and also by the Hakluyt Society in 1867.

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companies together, and he died in Labrador. In the same year the Muscovy Company sent Henry Hudson on his first voyage in a small ship with a crew of eleven persons. Hudson's hope was to find a passage across the polar regions by sailing between Greenland and Spitzbergen. He sailed in May, and returned in September, baffled by the ice, but he had reached 82° N. and discovered the drift of the polar current. These efforts to reach India should be correlated with the formation of the London and Plymouth companies in the same years and the planting of colonies at Jamestown and Pemaquid. It is evident that the East India and Muscovy companies were watching their new rivals.

In 1610, apparently under the same auspices,¹ Henry Hudson made his last voyage, gave his name to the great bay that he discovered, and lost his life in it. In 1612 James Hall went for the fourth time, but in the employ of London merchants, and lost his life in Labrador. In the same year Sir Thomas Button explored Hudson's Bay and wintered there. In 1614 the people who sent Sir Thomas Button commissioned a Captain Gibbon, who was held a prisoner by the ice all summer in Labrador. In 1615, under the auspices of the same adventurers, Robert Bylot and William Baffin sailed to Hudson's Strait. It was Bylot's fourth voyage. He had been one of Hudson's crew in 1610. The same captains sailed again in the next year, and explored Baffin's Bay. In that same year Raleigh was released from prison, and began to organize his last

¹ Three members of the Muscovy Company furnished the ship and supplies.

fatal expedition to South America. No more serious efforts to explore a northwest passage were made by Englishmen until the expeditions of Fox and James in 1631. In the interval, however, in 1619-1620, occurred the extraordinary and heroic effort of the Danes under Jens Munck to explore and take possession of the Hudson's Bay region.¹

2. *The Search for a "Northeast Passage"*
around the Old World.

The second direction of English expeditions was toward the discovery of a northeast passage to India, i.e., by sailing around the northern coasts of Scandinavia and Russia. Such a roundabout route to Cathay and India, or to the wealth of Peru and Mexico, was forced upon the attention of English mariners by the supremacy of Spain and Portugal in the South Seas. It is evident that neither Spaniard nor Portuguese could object to a traffic with Cathay that might be obtained by going around the northern coast of Europe. Before the death of Edward VI, in 1553, a company of London merchants equipped an expedition under Captains Willoughby and Chancellor to explore that coast. Altho Willoughby and two ships' crews were frozen to death, Chancellor found his way to a monastery at the mouth of the Dwina River. The town of Archangel was founded, for a hundred and fifty years the only seaport of Russia. The English possessed there a monopoly of the Russian trade, and an English fort was erected

¹ Cf. Agnes C. Laut's "Conquest of the Great Northwest," vol. II, chap. 5.

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in 1584. The Merchant Adventurers who controlled this trade were incorporated as the Muscovy Company under Philip and Mary in 1554-55. When the King of Spain was consort of Mary Tudor (1553-58) a company that sent its ships northward was manifestly more likely to win the royal approval. The Muscovy Company was the third great English trading company. The two prior organizations were the English Wool Merchants trading with Pisa, 1490, and the Merchant Adventurers (Newcastle-on-Tyne), about 1505. The Merchant Adventurers, with another company who sent ships to Scandinavia and the Baltic ports, fell heir to the English traffic of the decaying Hanseatic League. In 1578 Elizabeth chartered the latter group of traders as the Baltic or Eastland Company with a monopoly of the Baltic trade.

In 1608 the Muscovy Company sent Henry Hudson to find ivory and explore for a passage to Asia in the direction of Nova Zembla. They found a cross upon those islands that had probably been erected by a Dutch crew that had perished there in 1597, and were at home again by the end of August. In 1609 Hudson tried the same route again under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company with a crew of desperadoes picked up on the docks at Amsterdam. Off Nova Zembla a mutiny in the crew forced him to turn and sail westward to the shores of America and to the discovery of the river that bears his name. On the homeward voyage, Hudson landed first at Dartmouth in England, November 7, 1609, and the Muscovy Com-

pany would not let him leave England. He was obliged to send his report to his employers, the Dutch East India Company, through Van Meteren, the Dutch representative at London. There was at that time no more effort to reach Cathay by way of Nova Zembla.

3. *The Route to Newfoundland and the Northern Coast of the Mainland.*

The third route for English exploration was toward Newfoundland and the coast of Maine (Norumbega), not only to find a possible passage to India, but to traffic in fish, timber, minerals, and sassafras, and eventually to colonize.

After John Cabot, the first recorded English expedition to Newfoundland was led by one John Rut (Root), from Bristol in 1527. Raleigh and his half-brother, Humphrey Gilbert, came in 1578 with seven ships and 350 men, but they probably sailed towards Florida. It was a mooted question whether colonization should turn southward or northward. In 1579 one Simon Ferdinando explored the Maine coast for Elizabeth's famous secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham. In the next year, 1580, John Walker, in the service of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, sailed up the Penobscot River and secured a cargo of furs. In 1583 Gilbert took possession of Newfoundland and intended to plant a northern colony, but met shipwreck and death. After this calamity the spirit of colonization was directed toward the South, and only casual traders and fishers found their

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way to the northern mainland until the time of the formation of the great trading corporations. Nevertheless, it is probable that every year found an increasing number of English and Breton fishing vessels on the Banks of Newfoundland and that some of them crept along the Maine coast as far as Monhegan and Pemaquid and left no record of their voyages except in verbal reports to employers in Bristol or St. Malo.

4. *The Route to the Chesapeake Region, and*

5. *The Route to the West Indies and South America.*

Meanwhile Raleigh began his struggle to plant a southern colony in Virginia (Roanoke) with five voyages in five years (1584-88). After Governor White's last voyage in 1590, Raleigh directed his efforts still farther south and tried to strike straight at Spain in Guiana and on the Orinoco (1594-96). These two schemes of Raleigh marked out the fourth and fifth routes of English exploration, the former directed toward the Chesapeake region and the latter toward the fabled and fatal El Dorado. This route among the islands of the Caribbean Sea and along the coasts of Central and Southern America was more often traversed by the Hawkinses and Drakes, the freebooters and buccaneers, than by traders and colonizers. But the splendid ambitions and unfortunate end of Raleigh lend a sort of distant glory to the modern English colony of Guiana, as the name of the heroic Gilbert also lends luster to the annals of Newfoundland.

6. The Great Trading Companies.

It is noteworthy that most of the larger enterprises of exploration and settlement in the New World were supported by chartered companies or corporations. The Elizabethan and Stuart ages were as truly the age of corporations as is our own. These trading companies aimed to be chartered monopolies wherever possible, and the beginnings of English colonization were largely due to them. Among them all the sea-traffic of England was parcelled out. It was natural that they should be formed among the merchant guilds of cities like London, Plymouth, and Bristol, which had, during the middle ages, developed a foreign trade and the Atlantic fisheries. Reference has already been made to the incorporation of the Muscovy (1555) and Eastland (1578) companies among the Merchant Adventurers. In 1560 the Merchants of Exeter were incorporated to trade with France. A Hamburg Company was chartered in 1564, and ten years later a Spanish Company which endured until 1605. A small association which had traded with Venetian ports throughout the sixteenth century was swallowed up in a new corporation, chartered in 1581 as the Turkey Company (reincorporated in 1592 as the Levant Company) and aiming to reach the spice markets by way of Bagdad and the Persian Gulf. At about the same time (1585) a Barbary or Morocco Company was formed. The war with Spain after the death of Mary Stuart led to the chartering of the first Guinea or African Company (1588) to

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establish an English trade upon the coasts of Africa that had formerly been left to the Portuguese. The same sequence of events caused the incorporation of the great East India Company in 1600. A China Company followed in 1604.

The plans of Raleigh and Gorges seem less audacious when we read in a petition presented to Elizabeth in 1589 the proposition that the English should seize and fortify the Straits of Magellan and plant colonies along the South American coast even to Peru. The petitioner was even ready to contemplate the independence of such colonies, saying, "But admitt that we could not enjoye the same longer but that the Englishe there would aspire to government of themselves, yet were it better that it should be soe than that the Spaniardes should with the treasure of that countrie torment all the countries of Europe with warres."¹

Since the trade routes of the Old World were divided among these companies, it was natural that similar corporations for exploiting the New World should spring up as soon as Raleigh was in the Tower, his charters abrogated, and peace made with Spain. The twenty years warfare between England and Spain was ended June 15, 1605. Altho the most of the sea-fighting had taken place along the routes of the Spanish treasure fleets and in the West Indies, English sailors had thereby increased their knowledge of the whole Atlantic and its coasts. The London and Plymouth branches of the

¹ State Papers, quoted in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1907, vol. XIII, p. 513, in article by E. P. Cheyney, "Conditions surrounding settlement of Virginia."

Virginia Company in 1606 were promptly followed by the Guiana Company (1609), the Newfoundland Company (1610), and the Bermuda Company (1612).¹ It is significant also that the same men were likely to be engaged in two or more of these companies. It is said that over one hundred members of the Virginia Company were also members of the East India Company. Sir Thomas Smith, who was very prominent in the Virginia Company, and was for a time its treasurer, was also in the Levant, Muscovy, and East India companies. The idea of the "syndicate" was not unknown to these great "captains of industry," even tho the use of the word itself may be more modern.

7. *Plans for Colonization in Ireland and America.*

It has been observed that plans for colonizing in America and in Ireland proceeded together during the reigns of Elizabeth and James. Not only so, but the same men were leaders in both enterprises. The stories of failure and success in each case are curiously similar. Sir Humphrey Gilbert's first essays in colonization were in Ireland in 1567, and two years later a company of his neighbors in Devonshire was formed to colonize the province of Munster. These gentlemen of the West were still interested in this scheme while Gilbert was steering to Newfoundland, and at the very time when

¹ After an interval of about a decade came the Council of New England in 1620, and later still the Greenland Company, 1628, the Massachusetts Bay Company, 1629, and the Royal Fishery Company, 1629. Cf. Miss Kingsbury's article on the Virginia and other companies in Report of Am. Histor. Assoc., 1906, vol. I, pp. 161-176.

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Raleigh was trying to found a colony at Roanoke, in 1584, he and Edmund Spenser and others of the court were receiving grants of land in Munster and were also laboring to induce Englishmen to go there. The son of Sir Thomas Smith was leader of the first serious effort to colonize in Ulster, and was killed early in the attempt. His father and cousin continued the undertaking, which languished until 1606–1608, the very time when Jamestown and Pemaquid were being born. Sir John Popham, one of the chief promoters of the Pemaquid settlement, was deeply interested in the Munster settlement. Raleigh did not dispose of his grant in Ireland until 1602, just before his long eclipse. Sir Francis Bacon was an adviser of both the Irish and American colonizers, and thought the former company far the more sensible. He told King James in 1609 that the American enterprise differed from the Irish as much as Amadis de Gaul differs from Cæsar's Commentaries. The Scotch migration to counties Down and Antrim began in 1606, the same year in which the first colonists of Virginia sailed from London (December 30), and the great plantation of Ulster, planned in 1608, actually began in May, 1611. The same kind of chartered companies and trading associations was created to promote and manage both Irish and American settlement, and for a few years prior to 1630 the movement toward Ireland was more abundant than that toward America. But after the accession of Charles I, the proximity of Ireland was no longer an advantage. Englishmen leaving home were

increasingly anxious to get farther away from England, and the Indians were not feared or disliked more than the native Irish.

The fact that both Ireland and North America were regarded as frontier regions, inhabited by barbarous peoples and suitable for colonization, stimulated English popular interest in adventure and in foreign settlement.

These companies competed for popular and financial support. Business men were attracted by the possibilities of lucrative trade and speculation. The printing-presses produced broadsides of advertisement. The visions of a new and unknown world were so common in the streets that they found a place upon the stage and in literature, leaving their traces even in Shakespeare's *Tempest*. Michael Drayton, who protested to George Sandys that he wished to be a settler in Virginia, sped those who did go with such verses as these in a poem addressed

To the Virginian Voyage.

You brave heroic minds,
Worthy your country's name,
That honour still pursue
Whilst loitering hinds
Lurk here at home, with shame,
Go, and subdue.

Britons, you stay too long:
Quickly aboard bestow you,
And with a merry gale
Swell your stretch'd sail,
With vows as strong
As the winds that blow you.

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.
And cheerfully at sea
Success you still entice
To get the pearl and gold,
And ours to hold
Virginia
Earth's only Paradise.

Where nature hath in store
Fowl, venison and fish,
And the fruitfulest soil
Without your toil,
Three harvests more,
All greater than your wish.

And the ambitious vine
Crowns with his purple mass
The cedar reaching high
To kiss the sky,
The cypress, pine,
And useful sassafras.

.
And in regions far
Such heroes bring ye forth
As those from whom we came,
And plant our name
Under the star
Not known to our North.

.
Thy voyages attend,
Industrious Hakluyt,
Whose reading shall inflame
Men to seek fame,
And much commend
To after times thy wit.

8. *Principal Founders of English Colonization in America.*

The men who were the original founders and fathers of English colonization in America have not fared alike in public remembrance. The chiefest among them, Richard Hakluyt, well known in his own generation, as Drayton's verse testifies, is now almost forgotten except by scholars. Of the others, Walter Raleigh is honored by a few memorials, but is more frequently recalled as a squire of royal dames than as a creator of empire; John Smith barely escapes impeachment for exaggeration, to put it mildly, and is known not as the christener and advocate of New England, to which he gave many years of effort, but as the hero of Virginia, to which he contributed a short but spectacular service; and, finally, Ferdinando Gorges will never receive from the descendants of the Puritans much more consideration than he had from their ancestors, whose rival he was.

The one of this quartet who probably rendered the largest service to America, Richard Hakluyt (1553–1616), lies buried in Westminster Abbey, but he has no monument on this side of the Atlantic. He was of Welsh descent, born near London, educated at Westminster and Oxford, prominent as an ecclesiastic in Bristol and London, and archdeacon of Westminster during the last thirteen years of his life. Hakluyt was the storyteller of English discovery and adventure in the New World.

The earliest book in English devoted to American explorations was Richard Eden's "Treatyse of the newe

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India," published in 1553. Eden's work was a translation of a portion of the *Cosmographia*, or universal geography, of Sebastian Munster, which had been published in German and Latin at Basle, the first edition in 1541. In 1555 the same Eden published a history of voyages to the new world, chiefly drawn from a Spanish source, the Latin work of Peter Martyr (1511-16), "*De Orbe Novo*," arranged in eight "decades." Eden gave the name "*Decades of the New World*" to his translation.

These two translations were the principal English books on the subject until Sir Humphrey Gilbert's tract, "*Discourse of a Discoverie for a new passage to Cataia*," appeared in 1576. In 1577 Dionysius Settle published the story of Martin Frobisher's first voyage, and Frobisher's subsequent expedition in 1577 found historians in Thomas Churchyard and George Best. While Hakluyt was yet a boy in Westminster School he became interested in cosmography and stories of travel. After he went to Oxford in 1570 he continued these studies, and became filled with desire to use geographical knowledge for the extension of English commerce and empire. He believed that the discoveries of English seamen and travelers were not known, and in devoting himself to dispel this ignorance he became a great empire-builder.

Probably in the same year as Frobisher's second voyage (1577), Richard Hakluyt began at Oxford the first public lectures on geography and cartography. The firstfruit of this labor was a small book, published in

1582, and called "Divers Voyages touching the discoverie of America and the Islands adjacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterwards by the Frenchmen and Britons." The book was dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, and emphasized the claims of England to North America, the utility and desirability of colonization, and the possibility of finding a northwest passage to Cathay. The "Divers Voyages" contained the first careful statement of the English claim to North America upon the foundation of Cabot's discoveries. In such publication Hakluyt was serving as scribe and advocate for his friends Raleigh and Gilbert in preparing for the first English colony.

From 1583 to 1588 Hakluyt was chaplain of the English Embassy at Paris, and was busy in collecting from all sources the materials for his later publications. In 1584, at the request of Raleigh, Hakluyt wrote a "Discourse upon Western Planting," which was given in manuscript to Queen Elizabeth. At that time Raleigh's preliminary expedition under Amadas and Barlow was exploring Roanoke. This tract, a forcible argument for colonization, written to convince a Queen, was first printed in America after it had been forgotten for nearly two centuries.¹ Elizabeth had already given Raleigh a patent for his transatlantic colony, and when, in September, 1584, Amadas and Barlow returned, delighted with their story she gave to the new realm a name in her own honor, Virginia.

¹ It was first published by the Maine Historical Society in 1877. Cf. Winsor, "Narr. & Crit. Hist.," III, 208.

Hakluyt found in Paris much material concerning the explorations of Frenchmen and others in the New World. Most of the literature of that exploration then extant was in French, Latin, or Spanish. He was naturally especially interested in the efforts of the French Huguenots to colonize in Carolina a few years before, and in 1586 he published in the French language an account of the voyages of Laudonnière and others. An English version of the same story he published in the next year (1587), under the title, "Foure Voyages into Florida." In the same year Hakluyt published in Paris a Latin edition of Peter Martyr's "De Orbe Novo," which Eden had partly translated into English thirty-two years before.

In 1588 Hakluyt returned to England. He held livings at Bristol and in Suffolk, and at Westminster. The later place became his home. In 1589 appeared the first edition of his great compilation of voyages, entitled, "The Principall Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by sea or over land, to the most remote and fartherest distant quarters of the Earth," etc. This work he constantly enlarged, until the new edition published in 1600 was expanded into three volumes. The third volume related wholly to America, and the whole work contained accounts of more than two hundred voyages.

In 1609 he published a translation of a Portuguese account of De Soto's expedition to Florida, a publication intended to help the new settlement at Jamestown, as appears by its title, "Virginia richly valued, by

the description of the mainland of Florida, her next neighbor," etc. In 1616 he died, leaving his papers of unpublished material to Rev. Samuel Purchas, who was known to him as a man interested in the same studies.

Samuel Purchas (1577-1626) was a native of Thaxted in Essex, an M.A. of St. John's, Cambridge, in 1600, and a country parish priest from 1601 to 1614, in which year by the favor of the bishop of London he was made rector of St. Martin's, Ludgate. His life was devoted to the history of exploration and adventure, and he and his son wrote out the narratives that fill over five thousand folio pages of close print.

Before Hakluyt's death, Mr. Purchas had already published a volume, "Purchas His Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all Ages and Places Discovered, from the Creation until this Present," containing accounts of voyages paraphrased in his own language. This book had three editions between 1613 and 1617. From Hakluyt's papers Purchas caught his predecessor's more thorough and scholarly method, and began his *magnum opus*, "Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes." This work, continuing Hakluyt's "Navigations," and preserving, as Hakluyt had done, the language of the original accounts, was published in four sumptuous volumes in 1625. Part of the third and all of the fourth volume relate to America. In 1626 a new edition of his earlier volume was published as a fifth volume of the "Pilgrimes."

Purchas died in 1626, and his will shows that he had been able to accumulate considerable property.

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The expense of his publications was evidently not borne by him. He made his acknowledgments to the publisher of the beautiful edition of 1625 in these words, "And for the price, as I cannot set it, so I must acknowledge the adventurous courage of the Stationer, Master Henry Fetherstone (like Hercules helping Atlas), so long to beare this my heavy world at such expense." The "Pilgrimes" were reprinted in 1905 in twenty volumes by James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow, publishers to the University of Glasgow.

Altho Hakluyt was the inspirer and guide of Purchas, it is the latter who rendered most immediate service to the descendants of the Pilgrim and Puritan, for his collection began where Hakluyt's ended in 1600, and therefore included the story of the first efforts to explore and settle New England.

These two clergymen, Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas, were together the "press bureau" of English colonization. With motives of mingled patriotism and scientific interest, they used the printing-press to encourage explorations and foreign settlements by Englishmen, and thus furnished a needed arsenal of persuasive weapons for such leaders and promoters as Raleigh, Gorges, Popham, Thomas Smith, and John Smith. The latter adventurer is perhaps to be associated in our esteem more closely with men like Hakluyt and Purchas, for his efforts as a historian and pamphleteer probably contributed more toward the settlement of the New World than his services as an actual leader of colonies.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

*Chronological List of Known Voyages to the New England Coasts
for Discovery and Settlement, 1602-1630.*

1602. Voyage of Bartholomew Gosnold and Bartholomew Gilbert, commanders, along the Maine and Massachusetts coasts to Cuttyhunk, an island at Buzzard's Bay, which Gosnold named "Elizabeth's Ile;" narratives by John Brereton and Gabriel Archer.

1603. Voyage of Sieur du Pont Gravé (Francis Gravé, Sieur du Pont) and Sieur Prevert, commanders, Samuel de Champlain, surveyor and chronicler, to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and up the river as far as the Lachine Rapids. No narrative here, because it was not a voyage to the New England region.

1603. Voyage of Martin Pring, commander and chronicler, to the coasts of Maine and Massachusetts as far as what was later known as the harbor of Plymouth; his journal of the voyage was probably not entirely his own work.

1604-7. Voyage of Pierre de Guast (Sieur de Monts), Sieur du Pont Gravé and Jean de Biencourt (Sieur de Poutrincourt), and Samuel de Champlain, commanders, to St. Croix and to Port Royal in Acadia; Marc Lescarbot and Samuel de Champlain, historians.

1605. Voyage of George Waymouth, commander, along the New England coast from Nantucket to Maine; narrative by James Rosier.

1606. Voyages of Henry Challons, Thomas Hanham, and Martin Pring, commanders, for Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Sir John Popham (the Plymouth Company); Hanham and Pring reached the Maine coast at Sagadahoc; the narrative by Hanham, which Purchas had but did not print, is lost.

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1607. Voyage of Raleigh Gilbert and George Popham, commanders, to Sagadahoc under the authority of the Plymouth Company; narrative by James Davies.

1608. Voyage of Champlain and Sieur du Pont Gravé up the St. Lawrence River; the foundation of Quebec.

1609. Voyage of Henry Hudson, commander, along the coast from Newfoundland to Penobscot Bay, to Cape Cod, to Delaware Bay, then back along the coast and up the Hudson River; while he was exploring the latter, Champlain was discovering the lake since known by his name; narrative by Robert Juet (Jewett), sometime Hudson's mate and finally his enemy.

1610. Voyages of Samuel Argall and Sir George Somers, commanders, who set sail from Jamestown in two ships; caught in a storm, Somers reached the Bermudas and died there; Argall found himself on the Banks of Newfoundland, and sailed to the islands at the mouth of the Penobscot, thence to Cape Cod, and back to Jamestown; narrative from Argall's journal, or ship's log.

1610. Revival of the French colony of Acadie; return of Sieur de Poutrincourt to Port Royal; history by Marc Lescarbot.

1611. Voyage of Fathers Pierre Biard and Enemond Massé to Acadia and Port Royal; narratives in the Jesuit Relations.

1611. Voyage of Edward Harlow and Nicholas Hobson, commanders, along the coast from the Kennebec to Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard; report in hands of Purchas, now lost.

1611-12. More Jesuits sent to Acadia by Mme. de Guercheville; Fathers Pierre Biard and Enemond Massé found a colony at Mt. Desert in 1613; narratives in the Jesuit Relations and in Lescarbot's history.

1613. Samuel Argall, commander, in two voyages destroys the French settlements at Mt. Desert, St. Croix, and Port Royal;

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narrative of Father Biard in the Jesuit Relations; narrative of Argall in Purchas's "Pilgrims," fourth volume.

1614. First voyage of Captain John Smith, commander and historian, from the mouth of the Penobscot to Cape Cod. Nicholas Hobson's second voyage to the neighborhood of Martha's Vineyard.

1615. Voyages of John Smith (captured by a French ship), Thomas Dermer, and Sir Richard Hawkins, commanders, separately along the coast, all sent by the Plymouth Company. John Smith writes "A Description of New England." The London Company in the same year sent out four ships under Captain Michael Cooper.

1616. Voyages of eight ships from Plymouth and London to the New England coast; mentioned by Smith, no report extant. Voyage of Edward Brawnde along the coast from Kennebec to Cape Cod, as shown by his letter to Smith. Richard Vines, in the employment of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, came to the coast and probably spent the winter near the mouth of the Saco River, where he afterwards settled. Smith publishes his "Description."

1617. John Smith, at the head of a considerable expedition, failed to leave port.

1618. Voyage of Edward Rocroft, commander, to Newfoundland, to Monhegan, and along the coast to Virginia; mentioned by Smith and Gorges. Smith writes "New England's Trials."

1619. Voyage of Thomas Dermer from Monhegan along the coast in a pinnace to Plymouth harbor and back again; afterwards he went down the coast in his small boat again, through Long Island Sound and on to Virginia; narrative given by himself to Purchas.

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1620. Voyage of the Pilgrims to Provincetown and Plymouth. Smith publishes the "Trials."

1621. Voyage of Thomas Dermer from Virginia up the Delaware and Hudson rivers and along the coast to Cape Cod.

1622. Voyage of Thomas Weston, merchant adventurer, and Thomas Morton, author of "The New English Canaan," to the coast of Massachusetts Bay at Wessagussett, later Weymouth.

1623. Rev. John White, founder of the Bay Colony, and the Dorchester Fishing Company send fourteen men to Cape Ann. David Thompson settles at Little Harbor, mouth of Piscataqua River, New Hampshire.

1623-24. Voyages of Robert Gorges, Governor and commander under the Gorges grant, to Weymouth, Massachusetts, and of Christopher Levett, commander and chronicler, to Casco Bay, Maine.

1624. Publication of Smith's "Generall Historie," with notes from the "Trials." Settlements at Nantasket by John Oldham, Rev. Mr. Lyford and a small party, at Quincy by Capt. Wollaston (Mt. Wollaston), and at Cape Ann by a party of Western England fishermen (1623-4).

1625. William Blaxton settles at Shawmut (Boston), and Samuel Maverick at Noddle's Island (Boston Harbor). Roger Conant, from Plymouth and Nantasket, becomes leader at Cape Ann (Gloucester) for the "Dorchester Adventurers." Permanent settlement also at Pemaquid. Thomas Morton becomes the leader at Mt. Wollaston (Merry-Mount). Rev. Samuel Purchas publishes in London his "Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes," in four volumes.

1626. Conant and others leave Cape Ann and settle at Naumkeag. David Thompson moves from Little Harbor to

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Thompson's Island in Boston Harbor. First French fort probably built at Pentegoët in Penobscot Bay (afterwards Castine).

1627. Edward Hilton and others arrive at Dover, New Hampshire.

1628. John Endicott and company arrive at Naumkeag, September 6. Disputes between Conant's company and the newcomers were so amicably settled that the name of the place was changed to Salem ("peaceful"). Plymouth disperses the Merry-Mount colony and arrests Morton.

1629. Thomas Walford, the blacksmith, settles at what afterwards became Charlestown. Charter of Massachusetts Bay Colony issued, March 4. Revs. Samuel Skelton and Francis Higginson with 400 colonists came to Salem in June.

1630. John Smith wrote his last pamphlet in behalf of New England, "Advertisements for unexperienced Planters," published in 1631. John Winthrop and a colony of nearly one thousand people came to Salem in seventeen ships, in May, June, and July, 1630, and soon afterwards scattered to Dorchester, Charlestown, Roxbury, Watertown, and Boston.

II.

FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT, BUZZARD'S BAY, 1602. VOYAGES OF BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD AND BARTHOLOMEW GILBERT. NARRATIVES OF JOHN BRERETON AND GABRIEL ARCHER.



IN the last five years of Elizabeth's reign Sir Walter Raleigh was struggling to maintain his footing. He was deeply involved in the rivalries of factions at court, eager to retain the favor of the Queen and to maneuver for a commanding position at the time of her death. His last expeditions to the Orinoco region in 1596 had returned without result. He had attempted to send a colony thither in 1598 under Sir John Gilbert, but had completely failed. The expedition did not even start. By these enterprises and by his expenditures for his lost Virginia colony he was much impoverished. For the latter colony he was reputed to have spent over forty thousand pounds, and he was still paying out money in a vain effort to find the possible survivors.

In 1602 he made his fifth and last effort to find them by sending one Captain Samuel Mace to search for them. Mace returned without obeying these orders, and Raleigh went to Weymouth to confer with him.

Under date of August 21, 1602, Sir Walter wrote to Cecil about Virginia, "I shall yet live to see it an Englishe nation," and declared that he would send Captain Mace back again, but he never did. While Raleigh was in Weymouth upon this errand he seems to have discovered for the first time that Bartholomew Gilbert, the son of Raleigh's famous half-brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and Bartholomew Gosnold had just returned from a voyage to northern Virginia. For this voyage he, Raleigh, the patentee of that country, had given no license. Moreover the two adventurers had brought home a cargo of sassafras and cedar, the sale of which had caused a sudden drop in the price of sassafras in the London market. Raleigh laid claim to the cargo, but Gosnold and Gilbert made peace with him. Raleigh allowed Brereton's relation of the voyage to be dedicated to him and to represent the voyage as sanctioned by him. Some important persons, notably the Earl of Southampton, Shakespere's friend, had aided the Gosnold and Gilbert expedition, and doubtless Raleigh was hopeful to use the venture as an advertisement for newer enterprises.

Gilbert went in command of the ship *Elizabeth* to the Chesapeake in the next year, and lost his life there.

Bartholomew Gosnold steps into the history of English exploration as suddenly and unexpectedly as he stepped into Raleigh's view at Weymouth in 1602. Nothing is known of his origin or previous career, but he was evidently already an experienced mariner. He

took the direct route across the Atlantic, an idea for which he was indebted to Verrazano, and possibly also to the experience of Walker in 1580, of which experience Bartholomew Gilbert may have known something. Some one in command of this expedition was singularly deficient in judgment to suppose that a dozen men would suffice to plant a colony, and that too without the knowledge and consent of the only English patentee. Gosnold, however, seems to have been regarded as a man of sense and discretion by his associates in the leadership of the Jamestown colony in 1607. Percy, Wingfield, and Smith refer to him with respect. In the "Generall Historie of Virginia," third book, Gosnold is called "one of the prime movers of the plantation." He was named by the London Company to be one of the members of the Council of the colony. In that expedition he held the rank of vice-admiral, and was in command of one of the three vessels, the *God-Speed*. It is said that Gosnold did not favor the island site selected for the settlement known as Jamestown, but he was unable to exert much influence upon the history of events in Virginia. A fatal distemper put an end to his life, August 22, 1607. He was buried with military honors. Wingfield refers to him as "the worthy and religious gentleman, Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, upon whose lief [life] stood a great part of the succes and fortune of our Government and Collony."

Of John Brereton, the author of the following narrative, little is known except that he was graduated from Caius College, Cambridge, in 1592-93. There

was a Brereton family in Cheshire, one member of which, Sir William Brereton, was associated with Sir Ferdinando Gorges in schemes of American colonization. Brereton's "Relation," published in 1602, is the earliest English book about New England.

The first edition of Brereton's "Relation" contained twenty-four pages, but a second edition in the same year was increased to forty-eight pages, and included a "treatise" by Edward Hayes,¹ "containing important inducements for the planting in those parts, and finding a passage that way to the South Sea and China." This is the text here used, taken from a copy of the original in the New York Public Library.

Of Gabriel Archer more is known than of Gosnold or Brereton, but this knowledge relates chiefly to his career at Jamestown.² He was, like Gosnold, one of the original settlers of that colony. From the beginning he was foremost in the party opposed to Wingfield and also to John Smith. He favored another site for settlement, perhaps the place eight miles below Jamestown called "Archer's Hope."³ He was probably the author of the official story of the exploration of the James

¹ Edward Hayes wrote the account of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's last voyage in 1583, which was published by Hakluyt in vol. III. Hayes was captain and owner of the *Golden Hind*, which was the only ship that returned to England from that expedition. The text of the first edition is reprinted in "Early English and French Voyages," edited by Dr. Henry S. Burrage. The text of the second edition appears in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3d Series, VIII, pp. 83-103. This narrative was also reprinted in facsimile by Mr. L. S. Livingston in 1902, and by Mr. George Parker Winship in "Sailors' Narratives of New England Voyages."

² Alex. Brown, in the biographical notes in the "Genesis of the United States," vol. II, records Gabriel Archer of Mountnessing, Essex, as a student of law at Gray's Inn, March 15, 1593.

³ Cf. Arber's ed. of Smith's Works, I, 66, 90.

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River which Captain Newport carried home, for the author speaks of wounds received from the Indians and Captain Archer was injured in both hands in a night attack.

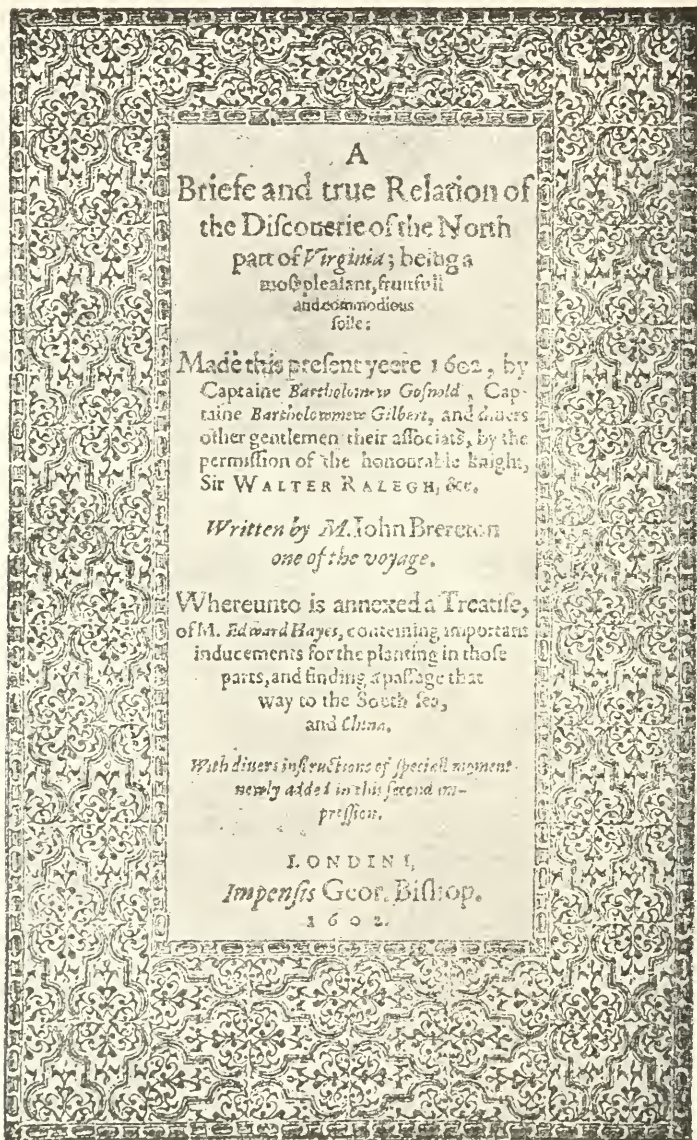
When Wingfield was deposed from the presidency of the colony, Archer was made recorder and prepared the charges against Wingfield. Wingfield writes, "It was usuall and naturall to this honest gentleman, Master Archer, to be allwayes hatching of some mutany." The contentions at Jamestown in its first year were so sharp that John Smith and his supporters were glad to see the wrangling leaders sent home with Captain Newport in 1608. The Description of Virginia says: "Wee not having any use of Parliaments, places, petitions, admirals, recorders, interpreters, chronologers, courts of plea, nor Justices of peace, sent Maister Wingfield, and Captain Archer with him, for England, to seeke some place of better imploiment."¹

Captain Archer returned to Jamestown with the third supply in 1609, shortly before John Smith returned to England, and Archer probably perished with most of his friends in the calamitous year that followed.² His narrative of Gosnold's expedition was printed by Purchas.³

¹ Arber's Smith, I, 104, 105.

² Cf. Archer's letter from Jamestown, Aug. 31, 1609, in Arber's Smith, I, xciv-xcvii.

³ It was reprinted in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3d Series, VIII, pp. 72-81; also by Mr. Edwin D. Mead in the Old South Leaflets, No. 120.



*Facsimile of title-page of the first English book
(second edition) about New England*

TO the honourable, Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, Captaine of her Majesties Guards, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, Lieutenant of Cornwall, and Governour of the Isle of Jersey.

Honourable sir, being earnestly requested by a deere friend, to put downe in writing, some true relation of our late performed voyage to the North parts of Virginia; at length I resolved to satisfie his request, who also imboldened me, to direct the same to your honourable consideration; to whom indeed of duetie it pertaineth.

May it please your Lordship therefore to understand, that upon the sixe and twentieth of March 1602, being Friday, we went from Falmouth, being in all, two and thirtie persons, in a small barke of Dartmouth, called *The Concord*, holding a course for the North part of Virginia: and although by chance the winde favoured us not at first as we wished, but inforced us so farre to the Southward, as we fell with S. Marie, one of the islands of the Açores (which was not much out of our way) yet holding our course directly from thence, we made our journey shorter (than hitherto accustomed) by the better part of a thousand leagues, yet were wee longer in our passage than we expected; which happened, for that our barke being weake, we were loth to presse her with much saile; also, our sailers being few, and they none of the best, we bare (except in faire weather) but low saile; besides, our going upon an unknowen coast, made us not over-bolde to stand in with the shore, but in open weather; which caused us to be certeine daies in sounding, before we discovered the coast, the weather being by chance, somewhat foggie. But on Friday the fourteenth of May, early in the morning, we made the land,¹ being full of faire trees, the land somewhat low, certeine hummocks or hilles lying into the land, the shore ful of white sand, but very stony or rocky.

¹ Identified as Cape Neddock, near York Beach.

And standing faire alongst by the shore, about twelve of the clocke the same day, we came to an anker, where sixe Indians, in a Baske-shallop¹ with mast and saile, an iron grapple, and a kettle of copper, came boldly aboard us, one of them apparelled with a waistcoat and breeches of blacke serdge, made after our sea-fashion, hose and shoes on his feet; all the rest (saving one that had a paire of breeches of blue cloth) were all naked. These people are of tall stature, broad and grim visage, of a blacke swart complexion, their eiebrowes painted white; their weapons are bowes and arrowes: it seemed by some words and signes they made, that some Basks or of S. John de Luz, have fished or traded in this place, being in the latitude of 43 degrees. But riding heere, in no very good harbour, and withall, doubting the weather, about three of the clocke the same day in the afternoone we weighed, & standing Southerly off into sea the rest of that day and the night following, with a fresh gale of winde, in the morning we found our selves embayed with a mightie headland;² but comming to an anker about nine of the clocke the same day, within a league of the shore, we hoised out the one halfe of our shallop, and captaine Bartholmew Gosnold, my selfe, and three others, went ashore, being a white sandie and very bolde shore; and marching all that afternoon with our muskets on our necks, on the highest hilles which we saw (the weather very hot) at length we perceived this headland to be a parcell of the maine, and sundrie Islands lying almost round about it: so returning (towards evening) to our shallop (for by that time, the other part was brought ashore and set together) we espied an Indian, a young man, of proper stature, and of a pleasing countenance; and after some familiaritie with him, we left him at the sea side, and returned to our ship; where, in five or sixe hours absence, we had pestered our

¹ A boat of the Basque fishermen. Archer calls it "a Biscay shallop."

² On account of the codfish off this headland this expedition gave it the name of Cape Cod, as Archer expressly relates. This was the first use of the name for that cape.

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ship so with Cod fish, that we threw numbers of them overboard againe; and surely, I am persuaded that in the moneths of March, April, and May, there is upon this coast, better fishing, and in as great plentie, as in Newfound-land: for the sculles of Mackerell, herrings, Cod, and other fish, that we dayly saw as we went and came from the shore, were woonderfull; and besides, the places where we tooke these Cods (and might in a few daies have laden our ship) were but in seven fadome water, and within lesse than a league of the shore; where, in Newfound-land they fish in fortie or fiftie fadome water, and farre off. From this place, we sailed round about this headland, almost all the points of the compasse, the shore very bolde: but as no coast is free from dangers, so I am persuaded, this is as free as any. The land somewhat lowe, full of goodly woods, but in some places plaine. At length we were come amongst many faire Islands, which we had partly discerned at our first landing; all lying within a league or two one of another, and the outermost not above sixe or seven leagues from the maine: but comming to an anker under one of them,¹ which was about three or foure leagues from the maine, captaine Gosnold, my selfe, and some others, went ashore, and going round about it, we found it to be foure English miles in compasse, without house or inhabitant, saving a little old house made of boughs, covered with barke, an olde piece of a weare of the Indians, to catch fish, and one or two places, where they had made fires. The chiefest trees of this Island, are Beeches and Cedars; the outward parts all overgrown with lowe bushie trees, three or foure foot in height,

¹ A note in the margin of the original reads, "The first Island called Marthas vineyard." Dr. Burrage thinks that this island was the one now called "No Man's Land," southwest of Martha's Vineyard. But in that case it would seem that Brereton and Archer would have mentioned so large an island as the present Martha's Vineyard, which they must have seen and passed on their way to Cuttyhunk. It may be that the island was really Martha's Vineyard, and that the exploring party did not really "go round about it," but guessed at the size.

which beare some kinde of fruits, as appeared by their blossomes; Strawberies, red and white, as sweet and much bigger than ours in England; Rasberies, Gooseberies, Hurtleberies, and such an incredible store of Vines, as well in the wooddie part of the Island, where they run upon every tree, as on the outward parts, that we could not goe for treading upon them: also, many springs of excellent sweet water, and a great standing lake of fresh water, neere the sea side, an English mile in compasse, which is mainteined with the springs running exceeding pleasantly thorow the wooddie grounds which are very rockie. Here are also in this Island, great store of Deere, which we saw, and other beasts, as appeared by their tracks, as also divers fowles, as Cranes, Hernshawes, Bitters, Geese, Mallards, Teales, and other fowles, in great plenty; also, great store of Pease, which grow in certeine plots all the Island over. On the North side of this Island we found many huge bones and ribbes of Whales. This Island, as also all the rest of these Islands, are full of all sorts of stones fit for building; the sea sides all covered with stones, many of them glistering and shining like minerall stones, and very rockie: also, the rest of these Islands are replenished with these commodities, and upon some of them, inhabitants; as upon an Island to the Northward, and within two leagues of this; yet we found no townes, nor many of their houses, although we saw manie Indians, which are tall big boned men, all naked, saving they cover their privy parts with a blacke tewed¹ skin, much like a Blacksmiths apron, tied about their middle and betweene their legs behinde: they gave us of their fish readie boiled, (which they carried in a basket made of twigges, not unlike our osier) whereof we did eat, and judged them to be fresh water fish: they gave us also of their Tabacco, which they drinke² greene,

¹ Tewed, beaten, dressed leather.

² Drink, to draw in or inhale. "He was drinking a pipe of tobacco," E. Johnson's "Wonder-Working Providence," p. 97.

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but dried into powder, very strong and pleasant, and much better than any I have tasted in England: the necks of their pipes are made of clay hard dried (whereof in that Island is great store both red and white) the other part is a piece of hollow copper, very finely closed and semented together. We gave unto them certeine trifles, as knives, points, and such like, which they much esteemed. From thence we went to another Island,¹ to the Northwest of this, and within a league or two of the maine, which we found to be greater than before we imagined, being 16 English miles at the least in compasse; for it containeth many pieces or necks of land, which differ nothing fro severall Islands, saving that certeine banks of small bredth do, like bridges, joyne them to this Island. On the outsides of this Island are many plaine places of grasse, abundance of Strawberies and other berries before mentioned. In mid May we did sowe in this Island (for a triall) in sundry places, Wheat, Barley, Oats, and Pease, which in foureteene daies were sprung up nine inches and more. The soile is fat and lustie; the upper crust of gray colour; but a foot or lesse in depth, of the colour of our hempe-lands in England; and being thus apt for these and the like graines; the sowing or setting (after the ground is clesed) is no greater labour, than if you should set or sowe in one of our best prepared gardens in England. This Island is full of high timbred Oakes, their leaves thrise so broad as ours; Cedars, strait and tall; Beech, Elme, Hollie, Walnut trees in abundance, the fruit as bigge as ours, as appeared by those we found under the trees, which had lien all the yeere ungathered; Haslenut trees, Cherry trees, the leafe, barke and bignesse not differing from ours in England, but the stalke beareth the blossomes or fruit at the end thereof, like a cluster of Grapes, forty or fifty in a bunch;

¹ Gosnold called it "Elizabeth's Ile." But all the islands along the south side of Buzzard's Bay are now called "Elizabeth Islands," and this particular one is Cuttyhunk.

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Sassafras trees great plentie all the Island over, a tree of high price and profit; also divers other fruit trees, some of them with strange barkes, of an Orange colour, in feeling soft and smoothe like Velvet: in the thickest parts of these woods, you may see a furlong or more round about. On the Northwest side of this Island, neere to the sea side, is a standing Lake of fresh water, almost three English miles in compasse, in the midst whereof stands a plot of woody ground, an acre in quantitie or not above: this Lake is full of small Tortoises, and exceedingly frequented with all sorts of fowles before rehearsed, which breed, some lowe on the banks, and others on lowe trees about this Lake in great aboundance, whose young ones of all sorts we tooke and eat at our pleasure: but all these fowles are much bigger than ours in England. Also, in every Island, and almost in every part of every Island, are great store of Ground nuts, fortie together on a string, some of them as bigge as hennes eggs; they grow not two inches under ground: the which nuts we found to be as good as Potatoes.¹ Also, divers sorts of shell-fish, as Scalops, Muscles, Cockles, Lobsters, Crabs, Oisters, and Whilks,² exceeding good and very great. But not to cloy you with particular rehearsall of such things as God & Nature hath bestowed on these places, in comparison whereof, the most fertil part of al England is (of it selfe) but barren; we went in our light-horsman from this Island to the maine, right against this Island some two leagues off, where comming ashore, we stood a while like men ravished at the beautie and delicacie of this sweet soile; for besides divers cleere Lakes of fresh water (whereof we saw no end) Medowes very large and full of greene grasse; even the most woody places (I speake onely of such as I saw) doe grow so distinct and apart, one tree from another, upon greene grassie ground,

¹ Potatoes were brought to Ireland by Hawkins from Virginia in 1565, and to England by Drake in 1585, and by Raleigh at about the same time.

² Whelks.

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somewhat higher than the Plaines, as if Nature would shew herself above her power, artificiall. Hard by, we espied seven Indians; and comming up to them, at first they expressed some feare; but being emboldned by our curteous usage, and some trifles which we gave them, they followed us to a necke of land, which we imagined had beene severed from the maine; but finding it otherwise, we perceived a broad harbour or rivers mouth, which ranne up into the maine: but because the day was farre spent, we were forced to returne to the Island from whence we came, leaving the discoverie of this harbour, for a time of better leasure. Of the goodnesse of which harbour, as also of many others thereabouts, there is small doubt, considering that all the Islands, as also the maine (where we were) is all rockie grounds and broken lands. Now the next day, we determined to fortifie our selves in a little plot of ground in the midst of the Lake above mentioned, where we built an house, and covered it with sedge, which grew about this lake in great abundance; in building whereof, we spent three weeks and more: but the second day after our comming from the maine, we espied 9 canowes or boats, with fiftie Indians in them, comming towards us from this part of the maine, where we, two daies before, landed; and being loth they should discover our fortification, we went out on the sea side to meet them; and comming somewhat neere them, they all sat downe upon the stones, calling aloud to us (as we rightly ghessed) to doe the like, a little distance from them; having sat a while in this order, captaine Gosnold willed me to go unto them, to see what countenance they would make; but as soone as I came up unto them, one of them, to whom I had given a knife two daies before in the maine, knew me (whom I also very wel remembred) and smiling upon me, spake somewhat unto their lord or captaine, which sat in the midst of them, who presently rose up and tooke a large Beaver skin from one that stood about him, and gave it unto me, which I requited

for that time the best I could: but I pointing towards captaine Gosnold, made signes unto him, that he was our captaine, and desirous to be his friend, and enter league with him, which (as I perceived) he understood, and made signes of joy: whereupon captaine Gosnold with the rest of his companie, being twentie in all, came up unto them; and after many signes of gratulations (captaine Gosnold presenting their Lord with certeine trifles which they wondred at, and highly esteemed) we became very great friends, and sent for meat aboard our shallop, and gave them such meats as we had then readie dressed, whereof they misliked nothing but our mustard, whereat they made many a sowre face. While we were thus mery, one of them had conveied a target of ours into one of their canowes, which we suffered, onely to trie whether they were in subjection to this Lord to whom we made signes (by shewing him another of the same likenesse, and pointing to the canowe) what one of his companie had done: who suddenly expressed some feare, and speaking angerly to one about him (as we perceived by his countenance) caused it presently to be brought backe againe. So the rest of the day we spent in trading with them for Furres, which are Beavers, Luzernes, Marterns, Otters, Wild-cat skinnes very large and deepe Furre, blacke Foxes, Conie skinnes, of the colour of our Hares, but somewhat lesse, Deere skinnes very large, Seale skinnes, and other beasts skinnes to us unknowen. They have also great store of Copper, some very redde, and some of a paler colour; none of them but have chaines, earrings or collars of this mettall: they head some of their arrows herewith much like our broad arrow heads, very workmanly made. Their chaines are many hollow pieces semented together, ech piece of the bignesse of one of our reeds, a finger in length, ten or twelve of them together on a string, which they weare about their necks: their collars they weare about their bodies like bandelieres a handfull broad, all hollow pieces, like the other, but somewhat shorter, foure

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hundred pieces in a collar, very fine and evenly set together. Besides these, they have large drinking cups made like sculles, and other thinne plates of copper, made much like our boare-speare blades, all which they so little esteeme, as they offered their fairest collars or chaines, for a knife or such like trifle, but we seemed little to regard it; yet I was desirous to understand where they had such store of this mettall, and made signes to one of them (with whom I was very familiar) who taking a piece of Copper in his hand, made a hole with his finger in the ground, and withall pointed to the maine from whence they came. They strike fire in this maner; every one carrieth about him in a purse of tewd leather, a Minerall stone (which I take to be their Copper) and with a flat Emerie stone (wherewith Glasiers cut glasse, and Cutlers glasse blades) tied fast to the end of a little sticke, gently he striketh upon the Minerall stone, and within a stroke or two, a sparke falleth upon a piece of Touchwood (much like our Spunge in England) and with the least sparke he maketh a fire presently. We had also of their Flaxe, wherewith they make many strings and cords, but it is not so bright of colour as ours in England: I am persuaded they have great store growing upon the maine, as also Mines and many other rich commodities, which we, wanting both time and meanes, could not possibly discover. Thus they continued with us three daies, every night retiring themselves to the furthest part of our Island two or three miles from our fort: but the fourth day they returned to the maine, pointing five or six times to the Sun, and once to the maine, which we understood, that within five or six daies they would come from the maine to us againe: but being in their canowes a little from the shore, they made huge cries & shouts of joy unto us; and we with our trumpet and cornet, and casting up our cappes into the aire, made them the best farewell we could: yet sixe or seven of them remained with us behinde, bearing us company every day into the woods, and helpt us to

cut and carie our Sassafras, and some of them lay aboard our ship.

These people, as they are exceeding courteous, gentle of disposition, and well conditioned, excelling all others that we have seene; so for shape of bodie and lovely favour, I thinke they excell all the people of America; of stature much higher than we; of complexion or colour, much like a darke Olive; their eie-browes and haire blacke, which they weare long, tied up behinde in knots, whereon they pricke feathers of fowles, in fashion of a crownet; some of them are blacke thin bearded; they make beards of the haire of beasts: and one of them offered a beard of their making to one of our sailors, for his that grew on his face, which because it was of a red colour, they judged to be none of his owne. They are quicke eied, and stedfast in their looks, fearlesse of others harmes, as intending none themselves; some of the meaner sort given to filching, which the very name of Salvages (not weighing their ignorance in good or evill) may easily excuse: their garments are of Deere skins, and some of them weare Furres round and close about their necks. They pronounce our language with great facilitie; for one of them one day sitting by me, upon occasion I spake smiling to him these words: How now (sirrha) are you so saucie with my Tabacco? which words (without any further repetition) he suddenly spake so plaine and distinctly, as if he had beene a long scholar in the language. Many other such trials we had, which are here needlesse to repeat.

Their women (such as we saw) which were but three in all, were but lowe of stature, their eie-browes, haire, apparell, and maner of wearing, like to the men, fat, and very well favoured, and much delighted in our company; the men are very dutifull towards them. And truly, the holsomnesse and temperature of this Climat, doth not onely argue this people to be answerable to this description, but also of a per-

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fect constitution of body, active, strong, healthfull, and very wittie, as the sundry toies of theirs cunningly wrought, may easily witnes. For the agreeing of this Climat with us (I speake of my selfe, & so I may justly do for the rest of our company) that we found our health & strength all the while we remained there, so to renew and increase, as notwithstanding our diet and lodging was none of the best, yet not one of our company (God be thanked) felt the least grudging or inclination to any disease or sicknesse, but were much fatter and in better health than when we went out of England. But after our barke had taken in so much Sassafras, Cedar, Furres, Skinnes, and other commodities, as were thought convenient; some of our company that had promised captaine Gosnold to stay, having nothing but a saving voyage in their minds, made our company of inhabitants (which was small enough before) much smaller; so as captaine Gosnold seeing his whole strength to consist but of twelve men, and they but meanly provided, determined to returne for England, leaving this Island (which he called Elizabeths Island) with as many true sorrowfull eies, as were before desirous to see it. So the 18 of June, being Friday, we weighed, and with indifferent faire winde and weather came to anker the 23 of July, being also Friday (in all, bare five weeks) before Exmouth.

Your Lordships to command,

. JOHN BRERETON.

[The various appendices to the second edition are here omitted, including Mr. Hayes's "Treatise," and the "Inducements," written by the elder Richard Hakluyt, as they do not tell the story of any voyage to the New England coast.]

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

A Briefe Note of such Commodities as we saw in the Countrey, notwithstanding our small time of stay.

Trees.

Sassafras trees, the roots whereof at 3s. the pound are 336.l. the tunne.
 Cedars tall and straight, in great abundance.
 Cypres trees.
 Oakes.
 Walnut trees great store.
 Elmes.
 Beech.
 Hollie.
 Haslenut trees.
 Cherry trees.
 Cotten trees.
 Other fruit trees to us unknowen.
 The finder of our Sassafras in these parts was one Master Robert Meriton.

Fruits, Plants and Herbs.

Tabacco, excellent sweet and strong.
 Vines in more plenty than in France.
 Ground nuts, good meat, & also medicinal.
 Strawberries.
 Raspeberries.
 Gooseberries.
 Hurtleberries.
 Pease growing naturally.
 Flaxe.
 Iris Florentina, whereof apothecaries make sweet balles.
 Sorrell, and many other herbs where-with they made sallets.

Snakes foure foot in length, and sixe inches about, which the Indians eat for daintic meat, the skinnes whereof they use for girdles.

Colours to die with, red, white and blacke.

Mettals and Stones.

Copper in great abundance.
 Emerie stones for Glasiers and Cutlers.
 Alabaster very white.
 Stones glistening and shining like Min-crall stones.

Stones of a blue mettalline colour, which we take to be Steele oare.
 Stones of all sorts for buildings.
 Clay, red & white, which may prove good Terra Sigillata.

Fowles.

Eagles.
 Hernshawes.
 Cranes.
 Bitters.
 Mallards.
 Teales.
 Geese.
 Pengwins.
 Ospreis and Hawks.
 Crowes.
 Ravens.
 Mewes.
 Doves.
 Sea-pies.
 Blacke-birds with carnation wings.

Beasts.

Deere in great store, very great and large.
 Beares. Blacke Foxes. Beavers.
 Luzernes. Otters. Wilde Cats, very large and great. Dogs like Foxes, blacke and sharpe nosed. Conies.

Fishes.

Whales. Tortoises, both on land and sea.
 Seales. Cods. Mackerell.
 Breames. Herrings. Thornbacke.
 Hakes. Rockefish. Doggefsh.
 Lobstars. Crabbes. Muscles.
 Wilks. Cockles. Scallops. Oisters.

THE RELATION OF CAPTAINE GOSNOL'S VOYAGE TO THE NORTH PART OF VIRGINIA, BEGUNNE THE SIXE-AND-TWENTIETH OF MARCH, ANNO 42 ELIZABETHÆ REGINÆ, 1602, AND DELIVERED BY GABRIEL ARCHER, A GENTLEMAN IN THE SAID VOYAGE.¹

THE said Captaine did set sayle from Falmouth the day and yeere above written accompanied with thirtie-two persons, whereof eight Mariners and Saylers, twelve purposing upon the discovery to return with the ship for England, the rest remayne there for population. The fourteenth of Aprill following, we had sight of Saint Maries, an Iland of the Assoris.

The three-and-twentieth of the same, being two hundred leagues Westwards from the said Iland, in the latitude of 37 degrees, the water in the mayne Ocean appeared yellow, the space of two leagues North and South, where sounding with thirtie fadome Line, wee found no ground, and taking up some of the said water in a bucket, it altered not either in colour or taste from the Sea Azure.

The seventh of May following, we first saw many Birds in bignesse of Cliffe Pidgeons; and after divers others as Pettrels, Cootes, Hagbuts, Pengwins, Murres, Gannets, Cormorants, Guls, with many else in our English Tongue of no name. The eight of the same the water changed to a yellowish greene, where at seventie fadome we had ground. The ninth, wee had two-and-twentie fadome in faire sandie ground, having upon our Lead many glittering Stones, somewhat heavie, which

¹ Purchas, IV, 1647-1651. See Register of New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Soc., 1878, p. 76.

might promise some Minerall matter in the bottome, we held ourselves by computation, well neere the latitude of 43 degrees.

The tenth wee sounded in 27, 30, 37, 43 fadome, and then came to 108. Some thought it to be the sounding of the Westernmost end of Saint Johns Iland; upon this banke we saw sculs of fish in great numbers. The twelfth, we hoysed out halfe of our shallop, and sounding had then eightie fadome. Without any current perceived by William Strete the Master, one hundred leagues Westward from Saint Maries, till we came to the foresaid soundings, continually passed fleeting by us Sea-oare, which seemed to have their moveable course towards the North-east; a matter to set some subtile invention on worke, for comprehending the true cause thereof. The thirteenth, we sounded in seventie fadome, and observed great beds of weedes, much woode, and divers things else floating by us, when as we had smelling of the shoare, such as from the Southerne Cape and Andalusia, in Spaine. The fourteenth, about six in the morning, we descried Land that lay North, &c., the Northerly part we called the North Land, which to another Rocke upon the same lying twelve leagues West, that wee called Savage Rocke (because the Savages first showed themselves there); five leagues towards the said Rocke is an out Point of woodie ground, the Trees thereof very high and straight, from the Rocke East-North-east. From the said Rocke came towards us a Biscay shallop with saile and Oares, having eight persons in it, whom we supposed at first to bee Christians distressed. But approching us neare, wee perceived them to bee Savages. These comming within call, hayled us, and wee answered. Then after signes of peace, and a long speech by one of them made, they came boldly aboard us, being all naked, saving about their shoulders certaine loose Deere-skinnes, and neere their wastes Seale-skinnes tyed fast like to Irish Dimmie Trousers. One that seemed to be their Commander wore a Wastecoate of

blacke worke, a paire of Breeches, cloth Stockings, Shooes, Hat and Band, one or two more had also a few things made by some Christians; these with a piece of Chalke described the Coast thereabouts, and could name Placentia of the Newfoundland; they spake divers Christian words, and seemed to understand much more than we, for want of Language could comprehend. These people are in colour swart, their haire long, uptyed with a knot in the part of behind the head. They paint their bodies, which are strong and well proportioned. These much desired our longer stay, but finding ourselves short of our purposed place, we set saile Westwards, leaving them and their Coast. About sixteene leagues South-west from thence wee perceived in that course two small Ilands, the one lying Eastward from Savage Rock, the other to the Southwards of it; the Coast we left was full of goodly Woods, faire Plaines, with little greene round Hills above the Cliffes appearing unto us, which are indifferently raised, but all Rockie, and of shining stones, which might have persuaded us a longer stay there.

The fifteenth day we had againe sight of the Land, which made ahead, being as wee thought an Iland, by reason of a large sound that appeared Westward betweene it and the Mayne, for comming to the West end thereof, we did perceive a large opening, we called it Shole-hope. Neere this Cape we came to Anchor in fifteene fadome, where wee tooke great store of Codfish, for which we altered the name, and called it Cape Cod. Here wee saw sculs of Herrings, Mackereles, and other small fish in great abundance. This is a low sandie shoare, but without danger, also wee came to Anchor again in sixteene fadome, faire by the Land in the latitude of 42 degrees. This Cape is well neere a mile broad, and lieth North-east by East. The Captaine went here ashoare and found the ground to be full of Pease, Strawberies, Hurtberies,¹ &c., as then unripe; the sand also by the shoare somewhat

¹ Whortleberries.

deepe, the firewood there by us taken in was of Cypresse, Birch, Wich-hazell and Beech. A young Indian came here to the captaine armed with his Bow and Arrowes, and had certaine plates of Copper hanging at his Eares; hee shewed a willingness to help us in our occasions.

The sixteenth, we trended the Coast Southerly, which was all champaine and full of grasse, but the Ilands somewhat wooddie. Twelve leagues from Cape Cod, we descried a point with some breach a good distance off, and keeping our loffe¹ to double it, wee came on the sudden into shoale water, yet well quitted ourselves thereof. This breach wee called Tucker's Terror, upon his expressed feare. The Point we named Point Care; having passed it wee bore up againe with the Land, and in the night came with it anchoring in eight fadome, the ground good. The seventeenth, appeared many breaches round about us, so as wee continued that day without remove.

The eighteenth, being faire we sent forth the Boat, to sound over a Breach, that in our course lay of another Point, by us called Gilberts Point, who returned us foure, five, sixe, and seven fadome over. Also, a Discovery of divers Ilands which after proved to bee Hills and Hummocks, distinct within the Land. This day there came unto the ships side divers Canoas, the Indians appavelled as aforesaid, with Tobacco and Pipes steeled with Copper, Skins, artificiall strings and other trifles to barter; one had hanging about his necke a plate of rich Copper, in length a foot, in breadth halfe a foot for a brestplate, the Eares of all the rest had Pendants of Copper. Also, one of them had his face painted over, and head stucke with feathers in manner of a Turkey-cocks traine. These are more timerous then those of the Savage Rock, yet very theevish.

The nineteenth, we passed over the breach of Gilberts Point in foure or five fadome, and anchored a league or somewhat more beyond it; betweene the last two Points are two leagues,

¹ Luff.

the interim, along shoale water, the latitude here is 41 degrees two third parts.

The twentieth, by the ships side we there killed Pengwins, and saw many sculs of fish. The Coast from Gilberts Point to the supposed Iles lyeth East and by South. Here also we discovered two Inlets which might promise fresh water, inwardly whereof we perceived much smoake, as though some population had there beene. This Coast is very full of people, for that as we trended the same Savages still runne along the shoare, as men much admiring at us.

The one-and-twentieth, we went coasting from Gilberts Point to the supposed Iles, in tenne, nine, eight, seven, and six fadome, close aboard the shoare, and that depth lyeth a league off. A little from the supposed Iles, appeared unto us an opening, with which we stood, judging it to bee the end of that which Captaine Gosnoll descrieth from Cape Cod, and as hee thought to extend some thirtie or more miles in length, and finding there but three fadome a league off, we omitted to make further discovery of the same, calling it Shole-hope.

From this opening the Mayne lyeth South-west, which coasting along we saw a disinhabited Iland, which so afterward appeared unto us: we bore with it, and named it Marthaes Vineyard; from Shole-hope it is eight leagues in circuit, the Iland is five miles, and hath 41 degrees and one quarter of latitude. The place most pleasant; for the two-and-twentieth, we went ashoare, and found it full of Wood, Vines, Goosebery bushes, Hurtberies, Raspices,¹ Eglentine, &c. Heere we had Cranes, Hearnies, Shoulers, Geese, and divers other Birds which there at that time upon the Cliffes being sandie with some Rockie stones, did breed and had young. In this place we saw Deere; heere we rode in eight fathome neere the shoare where wee tooke great store of Cod,—as before at Cape Cod, but much better.

¹ Raspberries.

The three-and-twentieth we weyed, and towards night came to Anchor at the North-west part of this Iland, where the next morning offered unto us fast running thirteene Savages apparelled as aforesaid, and armed with Bowes and Arrowes without any feare. They brought Tobacco, Deere-skins, and some sodden fish. These offered themselves unto us in great familiaritie, who seemed to be well-conditioned. They came more rich in Copper than any before. This Iland is sound, and hath no danger about it.

The four-and-twentieth, we set saile and doubled the Cape of another Iland next unto it, which wee called Dover Cliffe, and then came into a faire Sound, where wee roade all night; the next morning wee sent off our Boate to discover another Cape, that lay betweene us and the Mayne, from which were a ledge of Rockes a mile into the Sea, but all above water, and without danger; we went about them, and came to Anchor in eight fadome, a quarter of a mile from the shoare, in one of the stateliest Sounds that ever I was in. This called wee Gosnolls Hope; the North banke whereof is the Mayne, which stretcheth East and West. This Iland Captain Gosnoll called Elizabeths Ile, where we determined our abode: the distance betweene every of these Ilands is, viz. from Marthaes Vineyard to Dover Cliffe, halfe a league over the Sound, thence to Elizabeths Ile one league distant. From Elizabeths Ile unto the Mayne is foure leagues. On the North side, neere adjoining unto the Iland Elizabeth, is an Ilet in compasse halfe a myle, full of Cedars, by me called Hills Hap, to the Northward of which, in the mouth of an opening on the Mayne, appeareth another the like, that I called Haps Hill, for that I hope much hap may be expected from it.

The five-and-twentieth, it was that we came from Gosnolls Hope. The six-and-twentieth, we trimmed and fitted up our Shallop. The seven-and-twentieth, there came unto us an Indian and two women, the one we supposed to be his Wife,

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the other his Daughter, both cleane and strait-bodied, with countenance sweet and pleasant. To these the Indian gave heedfull attendance for that they shewed them in much familiaritie with our men, although they would not admit of any immodest touch.

The eight-and-twentieth we entred counsell about our abode and plantation, which was concluded to be in the West part of Elizabeths Iland. The North-east thereof running from out our ken. The South and North standeth in an equall Parallel. This Iland in the Wester side admitteth some Increekes, or sandie Coves, so girded, as the water in some places of each side meeteth, to which the Indians from the Mayne doe oftentimes resort for fishing of Crabs. There is eight fadome very neere the shoare, and the latitude here is 41 degrees 11 minutes, the breadth from Sound to Sound in the Wester part is not passing a mile at most, altogether unpeopled and disinhabited. It is overgrowne with Wood and Rubbish, viz. Okes, Ashes, Beech, Walnut, Weech-halse,¹ Sassafrage, and Cedars, with divers other of unknowne names. The Rubbish is wild Peaze, young Sassafrage, Cherie-trees, Vines, Eglentine, Goosebery bushes, Hawthorne, Honisuckles, with others of like qualitie. The herbs and Roots are Strawberies, Raspis, Ground-Nuts, Alexander,² Surrin,³ Tansie, &c. without count. Touching the fertilitie of the soyl by our own experience made, we found it to be excellent for sowing some English pulse, it srowted out in one fortnight almost halfe a foot. In this Iland is a stage or Pond of fresh water, in circuit two miles, on the one side not distant from the Sea thirtie yards, in the Centre whereof is a Rockie Ilet, contayning neere an Acre of ground full of wood, on which wee beganne our Fort and place of abode, disposing

¹ Witch-hazel.

² Alexander, or alisander, is horse-parsley, at that time cultivated and eaten like celery.

³ Perhaps this word should be Sorrel.

itself so fit for the same. These Indians call Gold Wassador, which argueth there is thereof in the Countrey.

The nine-and-twentieth, we labored in getting of Sassafrage, rubbishing our little Fort or Ilet, new keeling our shallop, and making a Punt or Flat-bottomed Boate to passe to and fro our Fort over the fresh water. The powder of Sassafrage in twelve houres cured one of our Company that had taken a great Surfet, by eating the bellies of Dog-fish, a very delicious meate.

The thirtieth, Captaine Gosnoll, with divers of his company, went upon pleasure in the shallop towards Hills Hap to view it and the Sandie Cove, and returning brought with him a Canoa that foure Indians had there left, being fled away for feare of our English, which we brought into England.

The one-and-thirtieth, Captain Gosnoll, desirous to see the Maine, because of the distance, hee set sayle over; where coming to anchor, went ashore with certaine of his companie, and immediatly there presented unto him men, women, and children, who, with all curteous kindnesse entertayned him, giving him certaine skinned wilde beasts, which may be rich Furses, Tobacco, Turtles, Hempt, artificiall Strings coloured, Chaines, and such like things as at the instant they had about them. These are a faire conditioned people. On all the Sea-coast along we found Mussel shells that in colour did represent Mother-of-pearle, but not having meanes to dredge, could not apprehend further knowledge thereof. This Maine is the goodliest Continent that ever we saw, promising more by farre than we any way did expect; for it is replenished with faire fields, and in them fragrant Flowers, also Medowes, and hedged in with stately Groves, being furnished also with pleasant Brookes, and beautified with two maine Rivers that (as wee judge) may haply become good harbours, and conduct us to the hopes men so greedily doe thirst after. In the mouth of one of these Inlets or Rivers, lieth that little Ile before mentioned, called Happs

Hill, from which unto the Westernmost end of the Maine, appearing where the other Inlet is, I account some five leagues, and the Coast betweene bendeth like a Bow, and lyeth East and by North. Beyond these two Inlets we might perceive the Mayne to beare up South-west, and more Southerly. Thus with this taste of Discovery, we now contented ourselves, and the same day made returne unto our Fort, time not permitting more sparing delay.

The first of June, we employed ourselves in getting Sassafrage, and the building of our Fort. The second, third, and fourth, we wrought hard to make readie our house for the provision to bee had ashore to sustaine us til our ships returne. This day from the Mayne came to our ships side a Canoa, with their Lord or chiefe Commander, for that they made little stay only pointing to the Sunne, as in signe that the next day hee would come and visit us, which hee did accordingly.

The fifth, wee continued our labour, when there came unto us ashoare from the Mayne fifty Savages, stout and lustie men with their Bowes and Arrowes; amongst them there seemed to be one of authoritie, because the rest made an inclining respect unto him. The ship was at their comming a league off, and Captaine Gosnoll aboard, and so likewise Captaine Gilbert, who almost never went ashoare, the company with me only eight persons. These Indians in hastie manner came towards us, so as we thought fit to make a stand at an angle betweene the Sea and a fresh water; I mooved myselfe towards him seven or eight steps, and clapt my hands first on the sides of mine head, then on my breast, and after presented my Musket with a threatning countenance, thereby to signifie unto them, either a choice of Peace or Warre, whereupon hee using mee with mine own signes of Peace, I stept forth and imbraced him; his company then all sate downe in manner like Greyhounds upon their heeles, with whom my company fell a bartering. By this time Captaine Gosnoll was come with twelve

men more from aboard, and to shew the Savage Seignior that he was our Captaine, we received him in a guard, which he passing thorow, saluted the Seignior with ceremonies of our salutations, wheratt he nothing mooved or altered himselfe. Our Captaine gave him a straw Hat and a paire of knives; the Hat awhile hee wore, but the Knives he beheld with great marvelling, being very bright and sharpe; this our courtesie made them all in love with us.

The sixt being raine, we spent idly aboard. The seventh, the Seignior came againe with all his troupe as before, and continued with us the most part of the day, we going to dinner about noone, they sate with us and did eate of our Bacaleure¹ and Mustard, dranke of our Beere, but the Mustard nipping them in their noses they could not indure: it was a sport to behold their faces made, being bitten therewith. In time of Dinner the Savages had stolne a Target, wherewith acquainting the Seignior, with feare and great trembling they restored it againe, thinking perhaps we would have beene revenged for it, but seeing our familiaritie to continue, they fell afresh to roasting of Crabs, Red Herrings, which were exceeding great, ground Nuts, &c. as before. Our Dinner ended, the Seignior first tooke leave and departed, next all the rest saving foure that stayed and went into the Wood to helpe us digge Sassafrage, whom we desired to goe aboard us, which they refused and so departed.

The eighth wee divided the victuals, namely, the ships store for England, and that of the Planters, which by Captaine Gilberts allowance could be but sixe weekes for sixe moneths, whereby there fell out a controversie, the rather, for that some seemed secretly to understand of a purpose Captaine Gilbert had not to returne with supplie of the issue those goods should make by him to be carried home. Besides, there wanted not ambitious conceits in the mindes of some wrang-

¹ Codfish.

ling and ill-disposed persons who overthrew the stay there at that time, which upon consultation thereof had, about five days after was fully resolved all for England againe. There came in this interim aboard unto us, that stayed all night, an Indian, whom wee used kindly, and the next day sent ashoare; hee shewed himselfe the most sober of all the rest, wee held him sent as a Spie. In the morning, he filched away our Pot-hooks, thinking he had not done any ill therein; being ashoare wee bid him strike fire, which with an Emerald stone (such as the Glaziers use to cut Glasse) he did. I take it to be the very same that in Latine is called *smiris*, for striking therewith upon Touch-wood that of purpose hee had, by meanes of a mynerall stone used therein, sparkles proceeded and forthwith kindled with making of flame. The ninth, wee continued working on our Storehouse, for as yet remayned in us a desired resolution of making stay. The tenth, Captaine Gosnoll fell downe with the ship to the little Ilet of Cedars, called Hills Happe, to take in Cedar wood, leaving mee and nine more in the Fort, onely with three meales meate, upon promise to returne the next day.

The eleventh, he came not, neither sent, whereupon I commanded foure of my companie to seeke out for Crabs, Lobsters, Turtles, &c. for sustayning us till the ships returne, which was gone cleane out of sight, and had the winde chopt up at Southwest, with much difficulty would shee have been able in short time to have made returne. These foure Purveyers, whom I counselled to keepe together for their better safety, divided themselves, two going one wayes and two another, in search as aforesaid. One of these petie companies was assaulted by foure Indians, who with Arrowes did shoot and hurt one of the two in his side, the other, a lusty and nimble fellow, leapt in and cut their Bow-strings, whereupon they fled. Being late in the evening, they were driven to lie all night in the Woods, not knowing the way home thorow the thicke rubbish, as also the

weather somewhat stormie. The want of these sorrowed us much, as not able to conjecture anything of them unlesse very evill.

The twelfth, those two came unto us againe, whereat our joy was encreased, yet the want of our Captaine, that promised to returne, as aforesaid, strooke us in a dumpish terrour, for that hee performed not the same in the space of almost three dayes. In the meane wee sustayned ourselves with Alexander and Sorrell pottage, Ground-nuts, and Tobacco, which gave nature a reasonable content. Wee heard at last, our Captaine to 'lewre'¹ unto us, which made such musike as sweeter never came unto poore men.

The thirteenth, beganne some of our companie that before vowed to stay, to make revolt: whereupon the planters diminishing, all was given over. The fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth, wee spent in getting Sassafrage and fire-wood of Cedar, leaving House and little Fort, by ten men in nineteene dayes sufficient made to harbour twenty persons at least with their necessary provisions.

The seventeenth, we set sayle, doubling the Rockes of Elizabeths Iland, and passing by Dover Cliffe, came to anchor at Marthaes Vineyard, being five leagues distant from our Fort, where we went ashoare, and had young Cranes, Herne-showes, and Geese, which now were growne to pretie bignesse.

The eighteenth, we set sayle and bore for England, cutting off our Shalop, that was well able to land five and twenty men or more, a Boat very necessary for the like occasions. The winds doe rainge most commonly upon this coast in the Summer time, Westerly. In our homeward course wee observed the foresaid floating weeds to continue till we came within two hundred leagues of Europe. The three-and-twentieth of July we came to anchor before Exmouth.

¹ Lure, any enticing call, a term derived from falconry.

MASTER BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD'S LETTER
TO HIS FATHER, TOUCHING HIS FIRST VOY-
AGE TO VIRGINIA, 1602.¹

MY duty remembered, &c. Sir, I was in good hope that my occasions would have allowed mee so much libertie, as to have come unto you before this time; otherwise I would have written more at large concerning the Countrie from whence we lately came, then I did: but not well remembering what I have already written (though I am assured that there is nothing set downe disagreeing with the truth,) I thought it fittest not to goe about to adde anything in writing, but rather to leave the report of the rest till I come myselve; which now I hope shall be shortly, and so soone as with conveniency I may. In the meane time, notwithstanding whereas you seeme not to be satisfied by that which I have already written, concerning some especiall matters; I have here briefly (and as well as I can) added these few lines for your further satisfaction: and first, as touching that place where we were most resident, it is in the Latitude of 41 degrees, and one third part; which albeit it be so much to the Southward, yet is it more cold then those parts of Europe, which are scituated under the same paralell: but one thing is worth the noting, that notwithstanding the place is not so much subject to cold as England is, yet did we finde the spring to be later there, then it is with us here, by almost a moneth: this whether it hapned accidentally this last spring to be so, or whether it be so of course, I am not very certaine; the latter seemes most likely, whereof also there may be given some sufficient reason, which now I omit; as for the Acornes we saw gathered on heapes, they were of the last yeare, but doubtlesse their Summer continues longer then ours.

We cannot gather, by anything we could observe in the people, or by any triall we had thereof ourselves, but that it is

¹ Purchas, IV, 1646, and 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. VIII.

as healthfull a Climate as any can be. The Inhabitants there, as I wrote before, being of tall stature, comely proportion, strong, active, and some of good yeares, and as it should seeme very healthfull, are sufficient prooffe of the healthfulnesse of the place. First, for ourselves (thankes be to God) we had not a man sicke two dayes together in all our Voyage; whereas others that went out with us, or about that time on other Voyages (especially such as went upon reprisall,) were most of them infected with sicknesse, whereof they lost some of their men, and brought home a many sicke, returning notwithstanding long before us. But Verazzano, and others (as I take it, you may reade in the Booke of Discoveries,) doe more particularly in-treate of the Age of the people in that coast. The Sassafras which we brought we had upon the Ilands; where though we had little disturbance, and reasonable plenty; yet for that the greatest part of our people were imployed about the fitting of our house, and such like affairs, and a few (and those but easie laborers) undertooke this worke, the rather because we were informed before our going forth, that a tunne was sufficient to cloy England, and further, for that we had resolved upon our returne, and taken view of our victuall, we judged it then needefull to use expedition; which afterward we had more certaine prooffe of; for when we came to an anker before Portsmouth, which was some foure dayes after we made the land, we had not one Cake of Bread, nor any drinke, but a little Vinegar left: for these and other reasons, we returned no otherwise laden than you have heard. And thus much I hope shall suffice till I can myselve come to give you further notice, which though it be not so soone as I could have wisht, yet I hope it shall be in convenient time.

In the meane time, craving your pardon, for which the urgent occasions of my stay will pleade, I humbly take my leave.

7 September, 1602.

Your dutifull Sonne, BARTH. GOSNOLD.

III.

THE VOYAGE OF MARTIN PRING, 1603.



MARTIN PRING, son of John Pring of Auliscombe, Devonshire, was born in 1580, and was therefore very young to be placed in command of a transatlantic expedition in 1603. This expedition was probably the direct result of Gosnold's voyage in the preceding year. The commercial success of that voyage, the favorable report written by Brereton, and the renewed interest of Raleigh were all provocative of another trial. It was Raleigh's last effort, for before the end of the year Elizabeth was dead, James was on the throne, and Raleigh was in prison, whence he did not emerge for thirteen years. Raleigh's last effort was comprehensive. Bartholomew Gilbert was sent in the *Elizabeth* to Virginia, and "sundry of the chiefest merchants of Bristol," with Richard Hakluyt, were interested in equipping two vessels to retrace Gosnold's voyage.

Raleigh not only authorized the expedition, but is said to have promised to relinquish to the adventurers "all the profits which should arise from the Voyage."¹ One of the ships, the *Discoverer*, of twenty-six tons, commanded by William Broune, carried thirteen men and a boy. The other ship, called the *Speedwell*, of

¹ Winsor, III, 189.

about fifty tons, carried about thirty men with Pring as master and commander of the expedition. With him were two men who had accompanied Gosnold, Robert Salterne and John Angell. This account of the voyage was written by or for Pring for Richard Hakluyt, and was among the papers which Purchas received from Hakluyt and published in his "Pilgrimes."

In the following year, 1604, Martin Pring was one of the leaders in an expedition to the coast of Guiana. The captain, Charles Leigh, wished to make a settlement there. Pring resisted to the verge of mutiny, for which he was sent home on a Dutch ship.¹

In 1606 he engaged in a second voyage to New England, which will be noticed in its place.

In January, 1613-14, he reappears as master of a ship in the service of the East India Company. By 1619 he rose to be commander of the whole English squadron in the East Indies. He stood in danger of court-martial from the East India Company upon charges of too great friendship for the Dutch and of private trading. On his voyage home in 1621 the officers and men of his ship, the *James Royal*, subscribed £70.8s.6d. towards the building of a free school in Virginia. Of this sum Pring himself gave £6.13s.4d. In return the Virginia Company made Pring a freeman of the company and allotted to him two shares of land in Virginia. He became "General to the Fraternity of Trinity House" in Bristol, and was buried there in St. Stephen's Church in 1626.

¹ Purchas printed Captain Leigh's account.

VOYAGE OF MARTIN PRING

The chief interest attaching to Pring's voyage in 1603, apart from the connection of Hakluyt and Raleigh with it, lies in the fact that the adventurers spent the summer days and gathered their cargo of saffron in the place where the Pilgrims settled seventeen years afterward.

A VOYAGE SET OUT FROM THE CITIE OF BRISTOLL AT THE CHARGE OF THE CHIEFEST MERCHANTS AND INHABITANTS OF THE SAID CITIE WITH A SMALL SHIP AND A BARKE FOR THE DISCOVERIE OF THE NORTH PART OF VIRGINIA, IN THE YEERE 1603 UNDER THE COMMAND OF ME MARTIN PRING.

[Introductory Note in Purchas.—Upon many probable and reasonable inducements, used unto sundry of the chiefest merchants of Bristoll by Master Richard Hakluyt, Prebendary of Saint Augustines, the Cathedrall Church of the said Citie, after divers meetings and due consultation they resolved to set forth a Voyage for the farther Discoverie of the North part of Virginia. And first they sent the said Master Hakluyt, accompanied with one Master John Angell, and Master Robert Salterne (which had beene in the said Discoverie the yeere before with Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold) to obtaine permission of Sir Walter Raleigh (which had a most ample patent of all those parts from Queene Elizabeth) to entermeddle and deale in that action.

Leave being obtained of him under his hand and Seale, they speedily prepared a small ship called the Speed-well in burthen about fiftie tunnes, manning the same with some thirtie men and Boyes, wherein went for Master and chiefe Commander in the Voyage one Martin Pring, a man very sufficient for his place, and Edmund Jones his mate, and Robert Salterne above mentioned as their chiefe Agent, with a Barke called the Discoverer, of six and twentie tunnes or thereabout, wherein went for Master William Browne, and Samuell Kirkland his Mate, both good and skilfull Mariners, being thirteene men and a Boye in all that Barke. The aforesaid ship and Barke were plentifully victualled for eight monethes, and furnished with slight Merchandizes thought fit to trade with the people of the Countrey, as Hats of divers colours, greene, blue and yellow, apparell of coarse Kersie and Canvasse readie made, Stockings and Shooes, Sawes, Pick-axes, Spades and Shovels, Axes, Hatchets, Hookees, Knives, Sizzers, Hammers, Nailles, Chissels, Fish-hookees, Bels, Beades, Bugles, Looking-glasses, Thimbles, Pinnes, Needles, Threed, and such like. They set saile from Kingrode the twentieth day of March.]

M. Salterne yet liveth, neither is his zeale dead to this action. He is now a Minister, and hath both by word and writing to mee testified his affection to Virginia.

VOYAGE OF MARTIN PRING

WE set saile from Milford Haven¹ (where the winds had stayed us a fortnight, in which space we heard of Queen Elizabeths death) the tenth of Aprill, 1603. In our course we passed by the Iles of the Açores,² had first sight of the Pike, and afterward of the Iland of Cuervo and Flores, and after we had runne some five hundred leagues, we fell with a multitude of small Ilands³ on the North Coast of Virginia, in the latitude of 43 degrees, the — of June, which Ilands wee found very pleasant to behold, adorned with goodly grasse and sundry sorts of Trees, as Cedars, Spruce, Pine and Firre-trees. Heere wee found an excellent fishing for Cod, which are better then those of New-found-land, and withall we saw good and Rockie ground fit to drie them upon: also we see no reason to the contrary, but that Salt may bee made in these parts, a matter of no small importance. We sayled to the Southwest end of these Ilands, and there rode with our ships under one of the greatest. One of them we named Foxe Iland, because we found those kind of beasts thereon. So passing through the rest with our Boates to the mayne Land, which lieth for a good space North-east and Southwest, we found very safe riding among them, in sixe, seven, eight, ten and twelve fathomes. At length comming to the Mayne in the latitude of 43. degrees and a halfe, we ranged the same to the South-west. In which course we found foure Inlets, the most Easterly whereof was barred at the mouth, but having passed over the barre, wee ranne up into it five miles, and for a certaine space found very good depth, and comming out againe, as we sailed South-

¹ A harbor in Pembrokeshire, Wales.

² The name of these islands is derived from *Port.*, açor, meaning a hawk. There are three groups of the Azores: the first contains the islands of Flores and Corvo; the second, Terceira, St. George, Pico, Fayal, and Graciosa; the third, St. Michael and St. Mary. The Portuguese have owned these islands since 1449.

³ The islands off the Maine coast east of Penobscot Bay.

west-ward, we lighted upon two other Inlets, which upon our search we found to pierce not farre into the land, the fourth and most Westerly was the best, which we rowed up ten or twelve miles.¹

In all these places we found no people, but signes of fires where they had beene. Howbeit we beheld very goodly Groves and Woods replenished with tall Okes, Beeches, Pine-trees, Firre-trees, Hasels, Wich-hasels and Maples. We saw here also sundry sorts of Beasts, as Stags, Deere, Beares, Wolves, Foxes, Lusernes,² and Dogges with sharpe noses. But meeting with no Sassafras, we left these places with all the foresaid Ilands, shaping our course for Savage Rocke discovered the yeere before by Captaine Gosnold,³ where going upon the Mayne we found people, with whom we had no long conversation, because here also we could find no Sassafras. Departing hence we bare into that great Gulfe which Captaine Gosnold over-shot the yeere before, coasting and finding people on the North side thereof. Not yet satisfied in our expectation, we left them and sailed over, and came to an Anchor on the South side in the latitude of 41. degrees and odde minutes: where we went on Land in a certaine Bay, which we called Whitson Bay,⁴ by the name of the Worshipfull Master John Whitson then Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, and one of the chiefe Adventurers, and finding a pleasant Hill thereunto adjoyning, we called it Mount Aldworth, for Master Robert Aldworths sake, a chiefe furtherer of the Voyage as well with his Purse as with his travell.⁵ Here we had sufficient quantitie of Sassafras.

At our going on shore, upon view of the people and sight of the place, wee thought it convenient to make a small bari-

¹ Probably the Saco, Kennebunk, York, and Piscataqua rivers.

² Lynxes.

³ Cape Neddick near York Beach.

⁴ Plymouth Harbor. Two years later, Champlain visited this harbor and called it Port of Cape St. Louis.

⁵ Travell = travail.

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cado to keepe diligent watch and ward in, for the advertizement and succour of our men, while they should worke in the Woods. During our abode on shore, the people of the Countrey came to our men sometimes ten, twentie, fortie or three-score, and at one time one hundred and twentie at once. We used them kindly, and gave them divers sorts of our meanest Merchandize. They did eat Pease and Beanes with our men. Their owne victuals were most of fish.

We had a youth in our company that could play upon a Gitterne,¹ in whose homely Music they tooke great delight, and would give him many things, as Tobacco, Tobacco-pipes, Snakes skinned of sixe foot long, which they use for Girdles, Fawnes skinned, and such like, and danced twentie in a Ring, and the Gitterne in the midst of them, using many Savage gestures, singing lo, la, lo, la, la, lo:² him that first brake the ring, the rest would knocke and cry out upon. Some few of them had plates of Brasse a foot long, and halfe a foote broad before their breasts. Their Weapons are Bowes of five or sixe foot long of Wich-hasell, painted blacke and yellow, the strings of three twists of sinewes, bigger then our Bow-strings. Their Arrowes are of a yard and an handfull long not made of Reeds, but of a fine light wood very smooth and round with three long and deepe blacke feathers of some Eagle, Vulture, or Kite, as closely fastened with some binding matter, as any Fletcher of ours can glue them on. Their Quivers are full a yard long, and made of long dried Rushes wrought about two handfulls broad above, and one handfull beneath, with prettie workes and compartiments, Diamant wise of red and other colours.

We carried with us from Bristoll two excellent Mastives, of whom the Indians were more afraid then of twentie of our men. One of these Mastives would carrie a halfe Pike in his mouth. And one Master Thomas Bridges a Gentleman of our

¹ Cithern, zither, an old-fashioned guitar.

² Purchas gives the cry as "Jo, ja, jo, ja, ja, jo."

company accompanied only with one of these Dogs, and passed six miles alone in the Countrey having lost his fellowes, and returned safely. And when we would be rid of the Savages company wee would let loose the Mastives, and suddenly with out-cryes they would flee away. These people in colour are inclined to a swart, tawnie, or Chestnut colour, not by nature but accidentally, and doe weare their haire brayded in foure parts, and trussed up about their heads with a small knot behind: in which haire of theirs they sticke many feathers and toyes for braverie and pleasure. They cover their privities only with a piece of leather drawne betwixt their twists¹ and fastened to their Girdles behind and before: whereunto they hang their bags of Tobacco. They seeme to bee somewhat jealous of their women, for we saw not past two of them, who weare Aprons of Leather skins before them downe to the knees, and a Beares skinne like an Irish Mantle over one shoulder. The men are of stature somewhat taller then our ordinary people, strong, swift, well proportioned, and given to treacherie, as in the end we perceived.

Their Boats, whereof we brought one to Bristoll, were in proportion like a Wherrie of the River Thames, seventeene foot long and foure foot broad, and made of the Barke of a Birch-tree, farre exceeding in bignesse those of England: it was sowed together with strong and tough Oziers or twigs, and the seames covered over with Rozen or Turpentine little inferiour in sweetnesse to Frankincense, as we made triall by burning a little thereof on the coales at sundry times after our coming home: it was also open like a Wherrie, and sharpe at both ends, saving that the beake was a little bending roundly upward. And though it carried nine men standing upright, yet it weighed not at the most above sixtie pounds in weight, a thing almost incredible in regard of the largenesse and capacitie thereof. Their Oares were flat at the end like an Oven

¹ Legs, a humorous term with the meaning of "fork."

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peelee,¹ made of Ash or Maple very light and strong, about two yards long, wherewith they row very swiftly: Passing up a River we saw certaine Cottages together, abandoned by the Savages, and not farre off we beheld their Gardens and one among the rest of an Acre of ground, and in the same was sowne Tobacco, Pompions, Cowcumbers and such like: and some of the people had Maiz or Indian Wheate among them. In the fields we found wild Pease, Strawberries very faire and bigge, Gooseberries, Raspices,² Hurts,³ and other wild fruits.

Having spent three Weeks upon the Coast before we came to this place where we meant to stay & take in our lading, according to our instructions given us in charge before our setting forth, we pared and digged up the Earth with shovels, and sowed Wheate, Barley, Oates, Pease, and sundry sorts of Garden Seeds, which for the time of our abode there, being about seven Weeks, although they were late sowne, came up very well, giving certaine testimonie of the goodnesse of the Climate and of the Soyle. And it seemeth that Oate, Hempe, Flaxe, Rape-seed and such like which require a rich and fat ground, would prosper excellently in these parts. For in divers places here we found grasse above knee deepe.

As for Trees the Country yeeldeth Sassafras a plant of soveraigne vertue for the French Poxe, and as some of late have learnedly written good against the Plague and many other Maladies; Vines, Cedars, Okes, Ashes, Beeches, Birch trees, Cherie trees bearing fruit whereof wee did eate, Hasels, Wich-hasels, the best wood of all other to make Sope-ashes withall, Walnut trees, Maples, Holy⁴ to make Bird-lime with, and a

¹ A baker's shovel, a pole with a broad flat disk at the end for thrusting loaves, pies, etc., into the oven and withdrawing them from it.—*Murray*.

² Raspberries.

³ Hurtleberries, whortleberries, modern huckleberries. A hurt was a blue mark left by a blow, and in Heraldry a hurt or heurte was a roundel azure. This may have been the source of the name of this blue berry.

⁴ Holly (Holm). The bark was used in making bird-lime.

kinde of tree bearing a fruit like a small red Peare-plum with a crowne or knop on the top (a plant whereof carefully wrapped up in earth, Master Robert Salterne brought to Bristoll.) We found also low trees bearing faire Cherries. There were likewise a white kind of Plums which were growne to their perfect ripenesse. With divers other sorts of trees to us unknowne.

The Beasts here are Stags, fallow Deere in abundance, Beares, Wolves, Foxes, Lusernes, and (some say) Tygres, Porcupines, and Dogges with sharpe and long noses, and many other sorts of wild beasts, whose Cases¹ and Furies being hereafter purchased by exchange may yeeld no smal gaine to us. Since as we are certainly informed, the Frenchmen brought from Canada the value of thirtie thousand Crownes in the year 1604, almost in Beavers and Otters skinned only. The most usuall Fowles are Eagles, Vultures, Hawkes, Cranes, Herons, Crows, Gulls, and great store of other River and Sea-fowles. And as the Land is full of Gods good blessings, so is the Sea replenished with great abundance of excellent fish, as Cods sufficient to lade many ships, which we found upon the Coast in the moneth of June, Seales to make Oile withall, Mulletts, Turbutts, Mackerels, Herrings, Crabs, Lobsters, Creuses,² and Muscles with ragged Pearles in them.

By the end of July we had laded our small Barke called the *Discoverer*, with as much Sassafras as we thought sufficient, and sent her home into England before, to give some speedie contentment to the Adventurers; who arrived safely in Kingrode about a fortnight before us. After their departure we so bestirred our selves, that our shippe also had gotten in her lading, during which time there fell out this accident. On a day about noone tide while our men which used to cut down Sassafras in the Woods were asleepe, as they used to doe for two houres in the heat of the day, there came downe about seven score

¹ Case = skin or hide.

² Creuse = crayfish or crawfish.

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Savages armed with their Bowes and Arrowes, and environed our House or Barricado, wherein were foure of our men alone with their Muskets to keepe Centinell, whom they sought to have come downe unto them, which they utterly refused, and stood upon their guard. Our Master likewise being very carefull and circumspect having not past two with him in the shippe put the same in the best defence he could, lest they should have invaded the same, and caused a piece of great Ordnance to bee shot off, to give terrour to the Indians, and warning to our men which were fast asleepe in the Woods: at the noyse of which Peece they were a little awaked, and beganne a little to call for Foole and Gallant, their great and fearefull Mastives, and full quietly laid themselves downe againe, but being quickned up eftsoones againe with a second shot they rowsed up themselves, betooke them to their weapons and with their Mastives, great Foole with an halfe Pike in his mouth, drew downe to their ship: whom when the Indians beheld afarre off, with the Mastive which they most feared, in dissembling manner they turned all to a jest and sport, and departed away in friendly manner: yet not long after, even the day before our departure, they set fire on the Woods where wee wrought, which wee did behold to burne for a mile space, and the very same day that wee weighed Anchor, they came downe to the shoare in greater number, to wit, very neere two hundred by our estimation, and some of them came in their Boates to our ship, and would have had us come in againe: but we sent them backe, and would none of their entertainment.

About the eighth or ninth of August, wee left this excellent Haven at the entrance whereof we found twentie fathomes water, and rode at our ease in seven fathomes being Landlocked, the Haven winding in compasse like the shell of a Snaille, and it is in latitude of one and forty degrees and five and twentie minutes.

This by the way is not to be forgotten, that our Captaine fell so much to the Northward because he would find high grounds, where commonly the best Havens are: which also fell out to his expectation. We also observed that we could find no Sassafras but in sandie ground. In our returne we brought our selves into the latitude of eight and thirtie degrees about the Açores for certaine causes, and within five weekes space came from our Port of Virginia, into the Soundings of England, but there being long encountred with Easterly winds, we came at length into Kingrode, the second of October, 1603. The *Discoverer* was out five moneths and an halfe. The *Speedwell* was out sixe moneths upon the Voyage.

IV.

FRENCH EXPLORERS AND SETTLERS UPON THE NEW ENGLAND COAST, 1604-1607. THE COLONY OF THE SIEUR DE MONTS.

I. Journal of Samuel de Champlain.



IT is not to be denied that at the beginning of the seventeenth century the French trod close upon the heels of the English in the exploration of the Northern part of this continent, and anticipated them in the actual settlement of it. Moreover, they were led by men who were more cultured and more scientifically observant than the first English adventurers. There is among the earlier English explorers of New England no man so versatile, accomplished, and masterful as Champlain. Perhaps John Smith is the only English captain who can be compared with him, but the comparison is not to Smith's advantage. The ardent faith and courage of Father Biard and other French missionaries may have been equalled at Plymouth and Boston, but they were not excelled. Among the earlier English discoverers it would be difficult to match the Jesuit spirit, unless it be in the gallant soul of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

The real founders of French exploration and settlement in America were the Breton fishermen, who reached the shores (1494-1557) of North America

very soon after John Cabot, and left their name at one of its eastern extremities. To them Verrazano (1524) was probably chiefly indebted, and the first French explorer of the continent was a Breton mariner, called by the Spaniards "a corsair," Jacques Cartier (1494-1557). His four voyages (1534, 1535, 1541, 1543) resulted in the first founding of the colony of Quebec under the governorship of Jean François de la Roche, Lord of Roberval (1540-44), and in the establishment of commercial relations with the region of the Bay and River of St. Lawrence, relations which were probably continuous from that time until Champlain refounded the colony, July 3, 1608. Moreover, the experiences of Raleigh's unfortunate colony at Roanoke were more than paralleled by the attempt of Admiral Coligny and the French Huguenots to plant a colony in Brazil in 1555 and 1557 and in South Carolina in 1562-65, and by the attempt of the Marquis de la Roche to found a colony on Sable Island with a shipload of castaways in 1598.

All of these efforts in the sixteenth century spelt failure, whether conducted by Cartier and Coligny or by Gilbert and Raleigh. With the beginning of the seventeenth century the first footholds were won. The race was close between the rival nations. The first serious attempt at colonization was made by the French under Sieur de Monts at St. Croix in 1604. The first permanent success was English, at Jamestown; the second was French, at Quebec.

Samuel de Champlain (1567-1635) explored both

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the coast and the St. Lawrence valley before selecting a final site for a colony. He was already a soldier and mariner of experience before he made his first voyage to North America in 1603. He was invited to go by the promoter of the expedition, Aymar de Chastes, who altho a Catholic had been a faithful soldier for King Henry IV and was now in old age the Governor of Dieppe. The King also commissioned Champlain to accompany the expedition as "Geographer Royal." The leaders of the expedition were two Bretons of St. Malo, François Gravé, Sieur du Pont, usually called "Pontgravé," and Sieur Prevert. These explorers followed in the wake of Cartier up the St. Lawrence valley, which they studied with unusual thoroughness. They carried back a valuable cargo of furs to Dieppe, and found their patron, de Chastes, dead. Champlain's voyages and achievements in this and subsequent expeditions in Canada are outside the scope of this collection. They are accessible to all in English translations.¹ But from 1604 to 1607 Champlain was upon the New England coast, actively engaged in promoting de Monts' enterprise of colonization on the Bay of Fundy. If he had succeeded, New France would probably have come down to Long Island Sound. Champlain's story of these three years of struggle is here given.

¹ Cf. W. L. Grant's "Voyages of Samuel de Champlain" in the Original Narratives Series, and, in the Trailmakers Series, translations by A. N. & E. G. Bourne of Champlain's final history of his North American voyages, published in 1632. The Journals of Samuel de Champlain were translated for the Prince Society of Boston by Dr. Charles Pomeroy Otis, and published in three volumes (1878, 1880, 1882) with critical notes by Dr. Edmund F. Slafter.

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Concerning his principal associates something may be said. These men were Pierre du Guast (or Gua), Sieur de Monts; Jean de Biencourt, Baron de Poutrincourt; Pontgravé, above referred to; and Marc Lescarbot. The mantle of de Chastes fell first on de Monts, a Huguenot nobleman of Pons in Saintonge, who was, therefore, the heir of the traditions of Coligny, Ribault, and Laudonnière. Henry IV, in 1603, made de Monts governor of Acadia, with powers of jurisdiction over all lands in America between latitudes 40° N. and 46° N., or from Delaware Bay to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and with a monopoly of the fur trade in those regions for ten years.¹ De Monts associated with himself a small group of men who were either Huguenots or Catholics who were friendly with the Huguenots. Such were Champlain himself, Pontgravé, who was a prominent merchant at St. Malo, and Poutrincourt, a gentleman of Picardy who followed King Henry as soon as the latter abjured his faith. Marc Lescarbot (1570–1630?) was a lawyer by profession, outwardly Catholic, but probably a Huguenot in secret or in sympathy. He spent the winter of 1606–7 with the colony at Port Royal, and explored the coast in the spring. Returning to France in 1607 he became the historian of New France. His work appeared in four editions, 1609, 1611, 1612, and 1618.

¹ This charter, antedating King James' charter to the Plymouth Company by three years, may be found in Lescarbot's "*Histoire de la Nouvelle France*," and in Baird's "*Huguenot Emigration to America*," vol. I, p. 341. It is translated in Williamson's "*History of Maine*," I, 651–654. The origin of the word Acadia, or Acadie, is thought to be an Indian word "*akade*," meaning a place where there is an abundance of something. See *Jesuit Relations*, vol. I, 305.

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In April, 1604, de Monts, Champlain, Poutrincourt, and Pontgravé set sail with a company of 120 persons to found a colony within the limits of de Monts' grant, but in some milder climate than that of the St. Lawrence valley. Both religions were represented in the colony, and each religion had its own priest. King Henry's agreement with de Monts stipulated that, while the Huguenot clergy might minister to the settlers, only the Catholic priests should be permitted to instruct the Indians.

The first settlement was on an island (St. Croix) near the mouth of the River St. Croix in Passamaquoddy Bay. During the autumn of 1604 Champlain sailed along the coast to Mt. Desert and up the Penobscot River to the vicinity of what is now Bangor. Returning with the charts of his surveys to St. Croix, Champlain wintered there with de Monts and seventy-seven others. Nearly half the company died of scurvy during the winter and spring. Poutrincourt, who liked better the appearance of the Annapolis harbor on the other side of the Bay of Fundy, received a gift of that region from de Monts and went back to France to raise a colony of his own.

During the summer of 1605 de Monts and Champlain made a minute exploration of the New England coast as far as Cape Cod in search of a better site. They started from St. Croix two days after Captain Weymouth left Monhegan on his homeward voyage to England. Returning in August to St. Croix, de Monts moved his settlement to Port Royal (Annapolis), now

in Nova Scotia. De Monts returned to France for help, leaving Pontgravé in command, while Champlain continued his surveys of the coast. Twelve more died of scurvy during the winter of 1605-06, and Pontgravé was on the point of departure for France when Poutrincourt arrived with supplies and reinforcements. In the autumn of 1606 Champlain with Poutrincourt made his final voyage down the coast as far as Vineyard Sound (Wood's Hole). In the following May, 1607, came word from de Monts that his monopoly of the fur trade was revoked, and that the colony must return to France. This was probably due to the fact that de Monts had seized ships trading on the coast as trespassers upon his rights, and had thus made powerful enemies at court who were owners of those vessels.

The colonists in September, 1607, returned to France, Champlain carrying charts and descriptions of over one thousand miles of sea-coast, with careful notes upon the nature and products of the soil, the native inhabitants, their manner of life, dress, occupations, social customs, institutions, and beliefs. Champlain and Lescarbot were the first Europeans to study the Indians of New England at close range and to penetrate the rivers and harbors of the whole coast.

Champlain's reports, maps, and drawings revived the zeal of de Monts and interested the King. Henry granted to de Monts a renewal of the monopoly of the fur trade for one year on condition that he would plant his colony in the interior. This would prevent collisions with the associations that were sending ships to

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the coast. De Monts accepted the grant, fitted out two ships, one to be commanded by Pontgravé, made Champlain lieutenant-governor of New France, and sent them in the spring of 1608 to plant a colony upon the river St. Lawrence. Thus Quebec was reborn.

The assassination of Henry IV in 1610 put an end to the hopes of de Monts. He sold his property rights to a prominent lady of the Court, Antoinette de Pons, Marquise de Guercheville, a patroness of the Jesuit order. For purposes of colonization a new company, headed by princes of the blood royal, was organized by Champlain, who was continued in the governorship of the colony in the St. Lawrence valley.

Champlain appeared no more in the history of Acadia. But the founder of Quebec may rightly be enumerated among the founders of New England. His exploration of the New England coast was thorough and scientific. Gosnold and Pring had brought back only stories of adventure and discursive comment. Champlain charted the coast-line and brought it definitely into the light of cartographic science. His journals of these explorations were published by him in 1613 and 1619, and his writings and maps were soon known and used by Englishmen and Spaniards as well as by Frenchmen.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

THE VOYAGES OF SIEUR DE CHAMPLAIN OF SAINTONGE, CAPTAIN IN ORDINARY TO THE KING IN THE MARINE; OR, A MOST FAITHFUL JOURNAL OF OBSERVATIONS MADE IN THE EXPLORATION OF NEW FRANCE, describing not only the countries, coasts, rivers, ports, and harbors, with their latitudes and the various deflections of the magnetic needle, but likewise the religious belief of the inhabitants, their superstitions, mode of life and warfare; furnished with numerous illustrations.

TOGETHER WITH TWO GEOGRAPHICAL MAPS:¹ the first for the purposes of navigation, adapted to the compass as used by mariners, which deflects to the north-east; and the other in its true meridian, with longitudes and latitudes, to which is added the Voyage to the Strait north of Labrador, from the 53d to the 63d degree of latitude, discovered in 1612 by the English when they were searching for a northerly course to China.

PARIS: Jean Berjon, Rue St. Jean de Beauvais, at the Flying Horse, and at his store in the Palace, at the Gallery of the Prisoners. MDCXIII. With authority of the King.

¹ The maps and illustrations are faithfully reproduced in the translation of Champlain's Journals published by the Prince Society of Boston. This page is a translation of the original title-page of 1613. A portion of the text and some of the notes are reprinted here by the kind permission of the Prince Society.

FRENCH EXPLORERS: CHAMPLAIN

BOOK I.

THE VOYAGES OF 1604-1607.

Chapter I.

The benefits of commerce have induced several princes to seek an easier route for traffic with the people of the East. Several unsuccessful voyages. Determination of the French for this purpose. Undertaking of Sieur de Monts : his commission and its revocation. New commission to Sieur de Monts to enable him to continue his undertaking.

THE inclinations of men differ according to their varied dispositions; and each one in his calling has his particular end in view. Some aim at gain, some at glory, some at the public weal. The greater number are engaged in trade, and especially that which is transacted on the sea. Hence arise the principal support of the people, the opulence and honor of states. This is what raised ancient Rome to the sovereignty and mastery over the entire world, and the Venetians to a grandeur equal to that of powerful kings. It has in all times caused maritime towns to abound in riches, among which Alexandria and Tyre are distinguished, and numerous others, which fill up the regions of the interior with the objects of beauty and rarity obtained from foreign nations. For this reason, many princes have striven to find a northerly route to China, in order to facilitate commerce with the Orientals, in the belief that this route would be shorter and less dangerous.

In the year 1496, the king of England commissioned John Cabot and his son Sebastian to engage in this search. About the same time, Don Emanuel, king of Portugal, despatched on the same errand Gaspar Cortereal, who returned without attaining his object.¹ Resuming his journeys the year after, he died

¹ Cortereal's first voyage occurred in 1500.

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in the undertaking;¹ as did also his brother Michel, who was prosecuting it perseveringly.² In the years 1534 and 1535, Jacques Cartier received a like commission from King Francis I., but was arrested in his course.³ Six years after, Sieur de Roberval, having renewed it, sent Jean Alfonse of Saintonge farther northward along the coast of Labrador;⁴ but he returned as wise as the others. In the years 1576, 1577, and 1578, Sir Martin Frobisher, an Englishman, made three voyages along the northern coasts. Seven years later, Humphrey Gilbert, also an Englishman, set out with five ships, but suffered shipwreck on Sable Island, where three of his vessels were lost.⁵ In the same [1585] and two following years, John Davis, an Englishman, made three voyages for the same object; penetrating to the 72d degree, as far as a strait which is called at the present day by his name. After him, Captain Georges made also a voyage in 1590, but in consequence of the ice was compelled to return without having made any discovery.⁶ The Hollanders, on their part, had no more precise knowledge in the direction of Nova Zembla.

So many voyages and discoveries without result, and attended with so much hardship and expense, have caused us French in late years to attempt a permanent settlement in those lands which we call New France, in the hope of thus realizing more easily this object; since the voyage in search of the desired passage commences on the other side of the ocean,

¹ In 1501. He had tried to carry off Indians from the Labrador coast in order to sell them into slavery.

² In 1502. There were three vessels. The one commanded by Michel Cortereal was lost. The others returned to Portugal.

³ Cartier explored the gulf of St. Lawrence and the river as far as the site of Montreal, and in 1541 made his third voyage at the instance of Roberval.

⁴ In 1542.

⁵ 1583. See the narrative of this voyage, by Master Edward Haies, in Dr. Burrage's "Early English and French Voyages," pp. 175-222.

⁶ Dr. E. F. Slafter, editor of Champlain's Journals, as published by the Prince Society, suggests that this may have been a mistaken reference to the voyage of Captain George Waymouth in 1602.

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and is made along the coast of this region. These considerations had induced the Marquis de la Roche, in 1598, to take a commission from the king for making a settlement in the above region. With this object, he landed men and supplies on Sable Island; but, as the conditions which had been accorded to him by his Majesty were not fulfilled, he was obliged to abandon his undertaking, and leave his men there.¹ A year after, Captain Chauvin accepted another commission to transport settlers to the same region; but, as this was shortly after revoked, he prosecuted the matter no farther.

After the above, notwithstanding all these accidents and disappointments, Sieur de Monts desired to attempt what had been given up in despair, and requested a commission for this purpose of his Majesty, being satisfied that the previous enterprises had failed because the undertakers of them had not received assistance, who had not succeeded, in one nor even two years' time, in making the acquaintance of the regions and people there, nor in finding harbors adapted for a settlement. He proposed to his Majesty a means of covering these expenses, without drawing anything from the royal revenues; viz., by granting to him the monopoly of the fur-trade in this land. This having been granted to him, he made great and excessive outlays, and carried out with him a large number of men of various vocations. Upon his arrival, he caused the necessary number of habitations for his followers to be constructed. This expenditure he continued for three consecutive years, after

¹ The company consisted chiefly of desperadoes. De la Roche was seeking a place suitable for permanent settlement, when a storm drove him back to France. There he was thrown into prison by an enemy. Meanwhile the men on Sable Island endured every privation and turned their swords against each other. Twelve of their number (originally there were about forty) returned to France in 1603, and were pardoned by King Henry IV. Champlain makes no reference here to his own previous voyages, one in 1599-1600, to the West Indies and New Spain, and one in 1603 with Pontgravé, under the auspices of Aymar de Chastes, up the St. Lawrence River as far as the Lachine Rapids, and later to the country around Gaspé.

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which, in consequence of the jealousy and annoyance of certain Basque merchants, together with some from Brittany, the monopoly which had been granted to him was revoked by the Council to the great injury and loss of Sieur de Monts, who, in consequence of this revocation, was compelled to abandon his entire undertaking, sacrificing his labors and the outfit for his settlement.

But since a report has been made to the king on the fertility of the soil by him, and by me on the feasibility of discovering the passage to China, without the inconveniences of the ice of the north or the heats of the torrid zone, through which our sailors pass twice in going and twice in returning, with inconceivable hardships and risks, his Majesty directed Sieur de Monts to make a new outfit, and send men to continue what he had commenced. This he did. And, in view of the uncertainty of his commission,¹ he chose a new spot for his settlement, in order to deprive jealous persons of any such distrust as they had previously conceived. He was also influenced by the hope of greater advantages in case of settling in the interior, where the people are civilized, and where it is easier to plant the Christian faith and establish such order as is necessary for the protection of a country, than along the seashore, where the savages generally dwell. From this course, he believed the king would derive an inestimable profit; for it is easy to suppose that Europeans will seek out this advantage rather than those of a jealous and intractable disposition to be found on the shores, among the barbarous tribes.

¹ De Monts' first commission dated November 8, 1603, is given in English in *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2d Series, VII, pp. 2-6. The original text is in Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*. It granted to de Monts the country from the latitude of Philadelphia to that of Cape Breton Island. In 1606 King James' charter to the Plymouth Company covered the same territory. De Monts' commission, here referred to, was his second one, issued in 1608.

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Chapter 2.

Description of Sable Island ; Cape Breton ; La Hève ; Port au Mouton ; Port Cape Nègre ; Sable Bay and Cape ; Cormorant Island ; Cape Fourchu ; Long Island ; Bay of Saint Mary ; Port Saint Margaret ; and of all noteworthy objects along the coast.

Sieur de Monts, by virtue of his commission¹ having published in all the ports and harbors of this kingdom the prohibition against the violation of the monopoly of the fur-trade accorded him by his Majesty, gathered together about one hundred and twenty artisans, whom he embarked in two vessels: one of a hundred and twenty tons, commanded by Sieur de Pont-Gravé; another, of a hundred and fifty tons, in which he embarked himself, together with several noblemen.

We set out from Havre de Grâce April 7, 1604, and Pont-Gravé April 10, to rendezvous at Canseau, twenty leagues from Cape Breton.² But, after we were in mid-ocean, Sieur de Monts changed his plan, and directed his course towards Port Mouton, it being more southerly and also more favorable for landing than Canseau.

On May 1, we sighted Sable Island, where we ran a risk of being lost in consequence of the error of our pilots, who were deceived in their calculation, which they made forty leagues ahead of where we were.

This island is thirty leagues north and south from Cape Breton, and in length is about fifteen leagues. It contains a small lake. The island is very sandy, and there are no trees at all of considerable size, only copse and herbage, which serve as pasturage for the bullocks and cows, which the Portuguese carried there more than sixty years ago, and which were very serviceable to the party of the Marquis de la Roche. The latter, dur-

¹ The commission of 1603.

² This name is probably derived from the Breton sailors, who came for cod. Champlain's league was about the same as two English miles. Canseau = Canso.

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ing their sojourn of several years there, captured a large number of very fine black foxes, whose skins they carefully preserved. There are many sea-wolves¹ there, with the skins of which they clothed themselves since they had exhausted their own stock of garments. By order of the Parliamentary Court of Rouen, a vessel was sent there to recover them. The directors of the enterprise caught codfish near the island, the neighborhood of which abounds in shoals.

On the 8th of the same month, we sighted Cap de la Hève, to the east of which is a bay, containing several islands covered with fir-trees.² On the main land are oaks, elms, and birches. It joins the coast of La Cadie at the latitude of $44^{\circ} 5'$, and at $16^{\circ} 15'$ of the deflection of the magnetic needle, distant east-north-east eighty-five leagues from Cape Breton, of which we shall speak hereafter.

On the 12th of May, we entered another port, five leagues from Cape de la Hève, where we captured a vessel engaged in the fur-trade in violation of the king's prohibition. The master's name was Rossignol, whose name the port retained,³ which is in latitude $44^{\circ} 15'$.

On the 13th of May, we arrived at a very fine harbor, where there are two little streams, called Port au Mouton,⁴ which is seven leagues distant from that of Rossignol. The land is very stony, and covered with copse and heath. There are a great many rabbits, and a quantity of game in consequence of the ponds there.

As soon as we had disembarked, each one commenced making huts after his fashion, on a point at the entrance of the

¹ Seals.

² The cape was named from Cap de la Hève in Normandy near Havre de Grace. It is now Cape La Have, about fifty miles southwest of Halifax. Hève, in Normandy, meant a cliff, the lower part of which was hollowed out, a place for crab-fishing. The bay is now called Palmerston Bay.

³ Now Liverpool.

⁴ Still called Port Mouton.

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harbor near two fresh-water ponds. Sieur de Monts at the same time dispatched a shallop, in which he sent one of us, with some savages as guides, as bearers of letters, along the coast of La Cadie, to search for Pont Gravè, who had a portion of the necessary supplies for our winter sojourn. The latter was found at the Bay of All-Isles,¹ very anxious about us (for he knew nothing of the change of plan); and the letters were handed to him. As soon as he read them, he returned to his ship at Canseau, where he seized some Basque vessels engaged in the fur-trade,² notwithstanding the prohibition of his Majesty, and sent their masters to Sieur de Monts, who meanwhile charged me to reconnoitre the coast and the harbors suitable for the secure reception of our vessel.

With the purpose of carrying out his wishes, I set out from Port Mouton on the 19th of May, in a barque of eight tons, accompanied by Sieur Ralleau, his secretary, and ten men. Advancing along the coast, we entered a harbor very convenient for vessels, at the end of which is a small river, extending very far into the main land. This I called the Port of Cape Negro, from a rock whose distant view resembles a negro, which rises out of the water near a cape passed by us the same day, four leagues off and ten from Port Mouton. This cape is very dangerous, on account of the rocks running out into the sea. The shores which I saw, up to that point, are very low, and covered with such wood as that seen at the Cape de la Hève; and the islands are all filled with game. Going farther on, we passed the night at Sable Bay,³ where vessels can anchor without any danger.

The next day we went to Cape Sable, also very dangerous, in consequence of certain rocks and reefs extending almost a

¹ Dr. Slafter identifies this with the waters between Owl's Head and Liscomb River in Halifax county.

² The complaints of the owners of these vessels were subsequently instrumental in securing the revocation of de Monts' charter.

³ Now Barrington Harbor, near the southwestern extremity of Nova Scotia.

league into the sea. It is two leagues from Sable Bay, where we had spent the night before. Thence we went to Cormorant Island, a league distant, so called from the infinite number of cormorants found there, of whose eggs we collected a cask full. From this island, we sailed westerly about six leagues, crossing a bay, which makes up to the north two or three leagues. Then we fell in with several islands¹ distant two or three leagues from the main land; and, as well as I could judge, some of them were two leagues in extent, others three, and others were still smaller. Most of them are very dangerous for large vessels to approach, on account of the tides and the rocks on a level with the water. These islands are filled with pines, firs, birches, and aspens. A little farther out, there are four more. In one, we saw so great a quantity of birds, called penguins,² that we killed them easily with sticks. On another, we found the shore completely covered with sea-wolves, of which we captured as many as we wished. At the two others there is such an abundance of birds of different sorts that one could not imagine it, if he had not seen them. There are cormorants, three kinds of duck, geese, *marmettes*?, bustards, sea-parrots, snipe, vultures, and other birds of prey; gulls, sea-larks of two or three kinds; herons, large sea-gulls, curlews, sea-magpies, divers, ospreys, *appoils*?, ravens, cranes, and other sorts which I am not acquainted with, and which also make their nests here. We named them Sea-Wolf Islands. This harbor is very convenient for vessels at its entrance; but its remoter part is entirely dry at low tide, except the channel of a little stream, completely bordered by meadows, which make this spot very pleasant. There is good codfishing near the harbor. Departing from there, we sailed north ten or twelve leagues without finding any harbor for our vessels, but a number of very fine inlets or shores, where the soil seems to be well

¹ Tousquet Islands.

² These were the Great Auk, now extinct.

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adapted for cultivation. The woods are exceedingly fine here, but there are few pines or firs. The coast is clear, without islands, rocks, or shoals; so that, in our judgment, vessels can securely go there. Being distant quarter of a league from the coast, we went to an island called Long Island, lying north-north-east and south-south-west, which makes an opening into the great Baye Française,¹ so named by Sieur de Monts.

This island is six leagues long, and nearly a league broad in some places, in others only quarter of a league. It is covered with an abundance of wood, such as pines and birch. All the coast is bordered by very dangerous rocks; and there is no place at all favorable for vessels, only little inlets for shallops at the extremity of the island, and three or four small rocky islands, where the savages capture many sea-wolves. There are strong tides, especially at the little passage of the island, which is very dangerous for vessels running the risk of passing through it.

From Long Island passage, we sailed north-east two leagues, when we found a cove where vessels can anchor in safety, and which is a quarter of a league or thereabouts in circuit. The bottom is all mire, and the surrounding land is bordered by very high rocks. In this place there is a very good silver mine, according to the report of the miner, Master Simon, who accompanied me. Some leagues farther on there is a little stream called River Boulay, where the tide rises half a league into the land, at the mouth of which vessels of a hundred tons can easily ride at anchor. Quarter of a league from here there is a good harbor for vessels, where we found an iron mine, which our miner estimated would yield fifty percent. Advancing three leagues farther on to the north-east, we saw another very good iron mine, near which is a river surrounded by beautiful and attractive meadows. The neighboring soil is red

¹ Now the Bay of Fundy. Long Island is still the name of this island, lying between the Bay of Fundy and St. Mary's Bay, at the western extremity of Nova Scotia.

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as blood. Some leagues farther on there is still another river, dry at low tide, except in its very small channel, and which extends near to Port Royal. At the extremity of this bay is a channel, also dry at low tide, surrounding which are a number of pastures and good pieces of land for cultivation, where there are nevertheless great numbers of fine trees of all the kinds previously mentioned. The distance from Long Island to the end of this bay may be some six leagues. The entire coast of the mines is very high, intersected by capes, which appear round, extending out a short distance. On the other side of the bay, on the south-east, the land is low and good, where there is a very good harbor, having a bank at its entrance over which it is necessary to pass. On this bar there is a fathom and a half of water at low tide; but after passing it you find three, with good bottoms. Between the two points of the harbor there is a pebbly islet, covered at full tide. This place extends half a league inland. The tide falls here three fathoms, and there are many shell-fish, such as muscles, cockles, and sea-snails. The soil is as good as any that I have seen. I named this harbor Saint Margaret.¹ This entire south-east coast is much lower than that of the mines, which is only a league and a half from that of Saint Margaret, being separated by the breadth of the bay, which is three leagues at its entrance. I took the altitude at this place, and found the latitude $45^{\circ} 30'$, and a little more, the deflection of the magnetic needle being $17^{\circ} 16'$.

After having explored as particularly as I could the coasts, ports, and harbors, I returned, without advancing any farther, to Long Island passage, whence I went back outside of all the islands in order to observe whether there was any danger at all on the water side. But we found none whatever, except there were some rocks, about half a league from Sea-Wolf Islands, which, however, can be easily avoided, since the sea breaks

¹ Weymouth Harbor, in St. Mary's Bay.

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over them. Continuing our voyage, we were overtaken by a violent wind, which obliged us to run our barque ashore, where we were in danger of losing her, which would have caused us extreme perplexity. The tempest having ceased, we resumed the sea, and the next day reached Port Mouton, where *Sieur de Monts* was awaiting us from day to day, thinking only of our long stay, and whether some accident had not befallen us. I made a report to him of our voyage and where our vessels might go in safety. Meanwhile I observed very particularly the place which is in latitude 44° .

The next day *Sieur de Monts* gave orders to weigh anchor and proceed to the Bay of Saint Mary,¹ a place which we had found to be suitable for our vessel to remain in, until we should be able to find one more advantageous. Coasting along, we passed near Cape Sable and the Sea-Wolf Islands, whither *Sieur de Monts* decided to go in a shallop, and see some islands of which we had made a report to him, and also of the countless number of birds found there. Accordingly he set out, accompanied by *Sieur de Poutrincourt*, and several other noblemen, with the intention of going to Penguin Island, where we had previously killed with sticks a large number of these birds. Being somewhat distant from our ship, it was not in our power to reach it, and still less to reach our vessel; for the tide was so strong that we were compelled to put in at a little island to pass the night, where there was much game. I killed there some river-birds, which were very acceptable to us, especially as we had taken only a few biscuit, expecting to return the same day. The next day we reached Cape Fourchu, distant half a league from there. Coasting along, we found our vessel in the Bay of Saint Mary. Our company was very anxious about us for two days, fearing lest some misfortune had befallen us; but when they saw us all safe, they were much rejoiced.

¹ Still so called. It was named by Champlain on his first visit.

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Two or three days after our arrival, one of our priests, named Messire Aubry from Paris, got lost so completely in the woods while going after his sword, which he had forgotten, that he could not find the vessel. And he was thus seventeen days without anything to subsist upon except some sour and bitter plants like the sorrel, and some small fruit of little substance large as currants,¹ which creep upon the ground. Being at his wit's end, without hope of ever seeing us again, weak and feeble, he found himself on the shore of Baye Française, thus named by Sieur de Monts, near Long Island, where his strength gave out, when one of our shallows out fishing discovered him. Not being able to shout to them, he made a sign with a pole, on the end of which he had put his hat, that they should go and get him. This they did at once, and brought him off. Sieur de Monts had caused a search to be made not only by his own men, but also by the savages of these parts, who scoured all the woods, but brought back no intelligence of him. Believing him to be dead, they all saw him coming back in the shallop to their great delight. A long time was needed to restore him to his usual strength.

Chapter 3.

Description of Port Royal and the peculiarities of the same. Isle Haute. Port of Mines. Baye Française. The River St. John, and what we observed between the Port of Mines and the same. The island called by the savages Manthane. The river of the Etechemins, and several fine islands there. St. Croix Island, and other noteworthy objects on this coast.

Some days after, Sieur de Monts decided to go and examine the coasts of the Bay of Française. For this purpose, he set out from the vessel on the 16th of May,² and we went through the strait of Long Island. Not having found in St. Mary's

¹ The partridge-berry. This story is related by Lescarbot with more detail.

² If the date of his trip of exploration from Port Mouton was correctly given (May 19), this must be June and not May.

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Bay any place in which to fortify ourselves except at the cost of much time, we accordingly resolved to see whether there might not be a more favorable one in the other bay. Heading north-east six leagues, there is a cove where vessels can anchor in four, five, six, and seven fathoms of water. The bottom is sandy. This place is only a kind of road-stead.¹ Continuing two leagues farther on in the same direction, we entered one of the finest harbors I had seen along all these coasts, in which two thousand vessels might lie in security. The entrance is eight hundred paces broad; then you enter a harbor two leagues long and one broad, which I have named Port Royal.² Three rivers empty into it, one of which is very large, extending eastward, and called Rivière de l'Équille,³ from a little fish of the size of an *esplan*?, which is caught there in large numbers, as is also the herring, and several other kinds of fish found in abundance in their season. This river is nearly a quarter of a league broad at its entrance, where there is an island⁴ perhaps half a league in circuit, and covered with wood like all the rest of the country, as pines, firs, spruces, birches, aspens, and some oaks, although the latter are found in small numbers in comparison with the other kinds. There are two entrances to the above river, one on the north, the other on the south side of the island. That on the north is the better, and vessels can there anchor under shelter of the island in five, six, seven, eight, and nine fathoms. But it is necessary to be on one's guard against some shallows near the island on the one side, and the mainland on the other, very dangerous, if one does not know the channel.

¹ Gulliver's Hole, about two leagues southwest of Digby Strait.

² Annapolis Basin. Slafter places the first settlement on the north side of the bay in the present village of Lower Granville. The present Annapolis is where d' Aulnay's fort stood.

³ Now the Annapolis River. This fish is long, round, and narrow, and is usually caught upon or in the sand at the water's edge. It abounds on the coast of Normandy.

⁴ Now Goat Island.

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We ascended the river some fourteen or fifteen leagues, where the tide rises, and it is not navigable much farther. It has there a breadth of sixty paces, and about a fathom and a half of water. The country bordering the river is filled with numerous oaks, ash, and other trees. Between the mouth of the river and the point to which we ascended there are many meadows, which are flooded at the spring tides, many little streams traversing them from one side to the other, through which shallops and boats can go at full tide. This place was the most favorable and agreeable for a settlement that we had yet seen. There is another island within the port, distant nearly two leagues from the former. At this point is another little stream,¹ extending a considerable distance inland, which we named Rivière St. Antoine. Its mouth is distant from the end of the Bay of St. Mary some four leagues through the woods. The remaining river is only a small stream filled with rocks, which cannot be ascended at all on account of the small amount of water, and which has been named Rocky Brook. This place is in latitude 45° , and $17^{\circ} 8'$ of the deflection of the magnetic needle.

After having explored this harbor, we set out to advance farther on in Baye Française, and see whether we could not find the copper mine, which had been discovered the year before. Heading north-east, and sailing eight or ten leagues along the coast of Port Royal, we crossed a part of the bay some five or six leagues in extent, when we arrived at a place which we called the Cape of Two Bays, and we passed by an island² a league distant therefrom, a league also in circuit, rising up forty or forty-five fathoms. It is wholly surrounded by great rocks, except in one place, which is sloping, at the foot of which slope there is a pond of salt water, coming from under a pebbly point, and having the form of a spur. The surface of the island

¹ Bear Island and Bear River.

² Haut Island, before Minas Channel. The cape is Cape Chignecto.

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is flat, covered with trees, and containing a fine spring of water. In this place is a copper mine. Thence we proceeded to a harbor a league and a half distant, where we supposed the copper mine was, which a certain Prevert of St. Malo had discovered by the aid of the savages of the country.¹ This port is in latitude $45^{\circ}40'$, and is dry at low tide. In order to enter it, it is necessary to place beacons, and mark out a sand-bank at the entrance, which borders a channel that extends along the main land. Then you enter a bay nearly a league in length, and half a league in breadth. In some places, the bottom is oozy and sandy, where vessels may get aground. The sea rises and falls there to the extent of four or five fathoms. We landed to see whether we could find the mines which Prevert had reported to us. Having gone about a quarter of a league along certain mountains, we found none, nor did we recognize any resemblance to the description of the harbor he had given us. Accordingly, he had not himself been there, but probably two or three of his men had been there, guided by some savages, partly by land, and partly by little streams, while he awaited them in his shallop at the mouth of a little river in the Bay of St. Lawrence. These men, upon their return, had brought him several small pieces of copper, which he showed us when he returned from his voyage. Nevertheless, we found in this harbor two mines of what seemed to be copper, according to the report of our miner, who considered it very good, although it was not native copper.

The head of the Baye Française, which we crossed, is fifteen leagues inland. All the land which we had seen in coasting along from the little passage of Long Island is rocky, and there is no place except Port Royal where vessels can lie in safety. The land is covered with pines and birches, and in my opinion, is not very good.

¹ The expedition of 1603. This is Advocate's Harbor, near Cape Chignecto.

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On the 20th of May,¹ we set out from the Port of Mines to seek a place adapted for a permanent stay, in order to lose no time, purposing afterwards to return, and see if we could discover the mine of pure copper which Prevert's men had found by aid of the savages. We sailed west two leagues as far as the cape of the two bays, then north five or six leagues; and we crossed the other bay, where we thought the copper mine was, of which we have already spoken: inasmuch as there are two rivers, the one coming from the direction of Cape Breton, and the other from Gaspé or Tregatté, near the great river St. Lawrence.² Sailing west some six leagues, we arrived at a little river, at the mouth of which is rather a low cape, extending out into the sea; and a short distance inland there is a mountain, having the shape of a cardinal's hat.³ In this place we found an iron mine. There is anchorage here for only shallows. Four leagues west-south-west is a rocky point extending out a short distance into the water, where there are strong tides which are very dangerous. Near the point we saw a cove about half a league in extent, in which we found another iron mine, also very good. Four leagues farther on is a fine bay running up into the main land, at the extremity of which there are three islands and a rock, two of which are a league from the cape towards the west, and the other is at the mouth of the largest and deepest river we had yet seen, which we named the St. John, because it was on this saint's day⁴ that we arrived there. By the savages it is called Ouygoudy. The river is very dangerous if one does not observe carefully certain points and rocks on the two sides. It is narrow at its entrance, and then becomes broader. A certain point being passed, it becomes narrower

¹ June.

² They crossed Chignecto Bay where it is divided into Cumberland Basin and Petitcodiac River, New Brunswick.

³ Quaco River and Porcupine Mountain. They went along the coast of New Brunswick toward the mouth of the St. John River.

⁴ June 24.

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again, and forms a kind of a fall between two large cliffs, where the water runs so rapidly that a piece of wood thrown into it is drawn under and not seen again. But by waiting until high tide you can pass this fall very easily. Then it expands again to the extent of about a league in some places, where there are three islands. We did not explore it farther up. But Ralleau, secretary of Sieur de Monts, went there some time after to see a savage named Secondon, chief of this river, who reported that it was beautiful, large, and extensive, with many meadows and fine trees, as oaks, beeches, walnut-trees, and also wild grapevines. The inhabitants of this country go by this river to Tadoussac, on the great river St. Lawrence, making but a short portage on the journey. From the river St. John to Tadoussac¹ is sixty-five leagues. At its mouth, which is in latitude $45^{\circ}40'$, there is an iron mine.

From the river St. John we went to four islands,² on one of which we landed, and found great numbers of birds called magpies, of which we captured many small ones, which are as good as pigeons. Sieur de Poutrincourt came near getting lost here, but he came back to our barque at last, when we had already gone to search for him about the island, which is three leagues distant from the main land. Farther west are other islands; among them one six leagues in length, called by the savages Manthane,³ south of which there are among the islands several good harbors for vessels. From the Magpie Islands we proceeded to a river on the main land called the river of the Etechemins,⁴ a tribe of savages so called in their country. We passed by so many islands that we could not ascertain their number, which were very fine. Some were two leagues in extent, others three, others more or less. All of these islands are in a bay, having, in my estimation, a circuit of more than

¹ At the junction of the Saguenay and St. Lawrence rivers.

² The islands in Passamaquoddy Bay.

³ Grand Manan Island.

⁴ The St. Croix River, which empties into Passamaquoddy Bay.

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fifteen leagues. There are so many good places capable of containing any number of vessels, and abounding in fish in the season, such as codfish, salmon, bass, herring, halibut, and other kinds in great numbers. Sailing west-north-west three leagues through the islands, we entered a river almost half a league in breadth at its mouth, sailing up which a league or two we found two islands: one very small near the western bank; and the other in the middle, having a circumference of perhaps eight or nine hundred paces, with rocky sides three or four fathoms high all around, except in one place, where there is a sandy point and clayey earth adapted for making brick and other useful articles. There is another place affording a shelter for vessels from eighty to a hundred tons, but it is dry at low tide. The island is covered with firs, birches, maples, and oaks. It is by nature very well situated, except in one place, where for about forty paces it is lower than elsewhere: this, however, is easily fortified, the banks of the main land being distant on both sides some nine hundred to a thousand paces. Vessels could pass up the river only at the mercy of the cannon on this island, and we deemed the location the most advantageous, not only on account of its situation and good soil, but also on account of the intercourse which we proposed with the savages of these coasts and of the interior, as we should be in the midst of them. We hoped to pacify them in the course of time and put an end to the wars which they carry on with one another, so as to derive service from them in future, and convert them to the Christian faith. This place was named by *Sieur de Monts* the *Island of St. Croix*.¹ Farther on, there is a great bay, in

¹The name was suggested by the fact that above the island streams from east and west flow into the main channel of the river. The island has been called *Dochet's Island* and *Neutral Island*, but is now called *De Monts' Island* in honor of its first European owner. About 1850, an excavation at the southern extremity of the island, where *De Monts* placed his cannon, uncovered five small cannon-balls, one of which is in the possession of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Society*. These were probably relics of *De Monts'* colony of 1604.

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which are two islands, one high and the other flat; also three rivers, two of moderate size, one extending towards the east, the other towards the north, and the third of large size, towards the west. The latter is that of the Etechemins, of which we spoke before. Two leagues up there is a waterfall, around which thè savages carry their canoes some five hundred paces by land, and then re-enter the river. Passing afterwards from the river a short distance overland, one reaches the rivers Norumbegue¹ and St. John. But the falls are impassable for vessels, as there are only rocks and but four or five feet of water. In May and June, so great a number of herring and bass are caught there that vessels could be loaded with them. The soil is of the finest sort, and there are fifteen or twenty acres of cleared land, where Sieur de Monts had some wheat sown, which flourished finely. The savages come here sometimes five or six weeks during the fishing season. All the rest of the country consists of very dense forests. If the land were cleared up, grain would flourish excellently. This place is in latitude $45^{\circ} 20'$, and $17^{\circ} 32'$ of the deflection of the magnetic needle.

Chapter 4.

Sieur de Monts finding no other place better adapted for a permanent settlement than the island of St. Croix, fortifies it and builds dwellings. Return of the vessels to France, and of Ralleau, secretary of Sieur de Monts, for the sake of arranging some business affairs.

Not finding any more suitable place than this island, we commenced making a barricade on a little islet a short distance from the main island, which served as a station for placing our cannon. All worked so energetically that in a little while it was put in a state of defence, although the mosquitoes (which are little flies) annoyed us excessively in our work. For there were

¹ The Penobscot River, which is near the St. Croix by the Mattawamkeag portage.

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several of our men whose faces were so swollen by their bites that they could scarcely see. The barricade being finished, *Sieur de Monts* sent his barque to notify the rest of our party, who were with our vessel in the bay of *St. Mary*, to come to *St. Croix*. This was promptly done, and while awaiting them we spent our time very pleasantly.

Some days after, our vessels having arrived and anchored, all disembarked. Then, without losing time, *Sieur de Monts* proceeded to employ the workmen in building houses for our abode, and allowed me to determine the arrangement of our settlement. After *Sieur de Monts* had determined the place for the storehouse, which is nine fathoms long, three wide, and twelve feet high, he adopted the plan for his own house, which he had promptly built by good workmen, and then assigned to each one his location. Straightway, the men began to gather together by fives and sixes, each according to his desire. Then all set to work to clear up the island, to go to the woods, to make the frame-work, to carry earth and other things necessary for the buildings.

While we were building our houses, *Sieur de Monts* despatched *Captain Fouques* in the vessel of *Rossignol*, to find *Pont Gravé* at *Canseau*, in order to obtain for our settlement what supplies remained.

Some time after he had set out, there arrived a small barque of eight tons, in which was *Du Glas* of *Honfleur*, pilot of *Pont Gravé's* vessel, bringing the *Basque* ship-masters, who had been captured by the above *Pont Gravé* while engaged in the fur-trade, as we have stated. *Sieur de Monts* received them civilly, and sent them back by the above *Du Glas* to *Pont Gravé*, with orders for him to take the vessels he had captured to *Rochelle*, in order that justice might be done. Meanwhile, work on the houses went on vigorously and without cessation; the carpenters engaged on the storehouse and dwelling of *Sieur de Monts*, and the others each on his own house, as I was on mine, which

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I built with the assistance of some servants belonging to *Sieur d'Orville* and myself. It was forthwith completed, and *Sieur de Monts* lodged in it until his own was finished. An oven was also made, and a hand-mill for grinding our wheat, the working of which involved much trouble and labor to the most of us, since it was a toilsome operation. Some gardens were afterwards laid out, on the main land as well as on the island. Here many kinds of seeds were planted, which flourished very well on the main land, but not on the island, since there was only sand here, and the whole was burned up when the sun shone, although special pains were taken to water them.

Some days after, *Sieur de Monts* determined to ascertain where the mine of pure copper was which we had searched for so much. With this object in view, he despatched me together with a savage named *Messamouet*, who asserted that he knew the place well. I set out in a small barque of five or six tons, with nine sailors. Some eight leagues from the island, towards the river *St. John*, we found a mine of copper which was not pure, yet good according to the report of the miner, who said that it would yield eighteen per cent. Farther on we found others inferior to this. When we reached the place where we supposed that was which we were hunting for, the savage could not find it, so that it was necessary to come back, leaving the search for another time.

Upon my return from this trip, *Sieur de Monts* resolved to send his vessels back to France, and also *Sieur de Poutrincourt*, who had come only for his pleasure, and to explore countries and places suitable for a colony, which he desired to found; for which reason he asked *Sieur de Monts* for *Port Royal*, which he gave him in accordance with the power and directions he had received from the king. He sent back also *Ralleau*, his secretary, to arrange some matters concerning the voyage. They set out from the island of *St. Croix* the last day of August, 1604.

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Chapter 5.

Of the coast, inhabitants, and river of Norumbegue,¹ and of all that occurred during the exploration of the latter.

After the departure of the vessels, *Sieur de Monts*, without losing time, decided to send persons to make discoveries along the coast of *Norumbegue*; and he intrusted me with this work, which I found very agreeable.

In order to execute this commission, I set out from *St. Croix* on the 2d of September with a *patache*² of seventeen or eighteen tons, twelve sailors, and two savages, to serve us as guides to the places with which they were acquainted. The same day we found the vessels where *Sieur de Poutrincourt* was, which were anchored at the mouth of the river *St. Croix* in consequence of bad weather, which place we could not leave before the 5th of the month. Having gone two or three leagues seaward, so dense a fog arose that we at once lost sight of their vessels. Continuing our course along the coast, we made the same day some twenty-five leagues, and passed by a large number of islands, banks, reefs, and rocks, which in places extend more than four leagues out to sea. We called the islands the *Ranges*, most of which are covered with pines, firs, and other trees of an inferior sort. Among these islands are many fine harbors, but undesirable for a permanent settlement. The same day we passed also near to an island about four or five leagues long, in the neighborhood of which we just escaped being lost on a little rock on a level with the water, which made an opening in our barque near the keel. From this island to the main land on the north, the distance is less than a hundred paces. It is very high and notched in places, so that there is the appearance to one at sea, as of seven or eight mountains extending along near each other. The summit of the most of

¹ The coast of New England and the Penobscot River.

² A narrow boat, suitable for cruising along a coast.

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them is destitute of trees, as there are only rocks on them. The woods consist of pines, firs, and birches only. I named it Isle des Monts Déserts.¹ The latitude is $44^{\circ} 30'$.

The next day, the 6th of the month, we sailed two leagues, and perceived a smoke in a cove at the foot of the mountains above mentioned. We saw two canoes rowed by savages, which came within musket range to observe us. I sent our two savages in a boat to assure them of our friendship. Their fear of us made them turn back. On the morning of the next day they came alongside of our barque and talked with our savages. I ordered some biscuit, tobacco, and other trifles to be given to them. These savages had come beaver-hunting and to catch fish, some of which they gave us. Having made an alliance with them, they guided us to their river of Pentegouet,² so called by them, where they told us was their captain, named Bessabez, chief of this river. I think this river is that which several pilots and historians call Norumbegue, and which most have described as large and extensive, with very many islands, its mouth being in latitude 43° , $43^{\circ} 30'$, according to others in 44° , more or less. With regard to the deflection, I have neither read nor heard any one say anything. It is related also that there is a large, thickly settled town of savages, who are adroit and skilful, and who have cotton yarn. I am confident that most of those who mention it have not seen it, and speak of it because they have heard persons say so, who knew no more about it than they themselves. I am ready to believe that some may have seen the mouth of it, because there are in reality many islands, and it is, as they say, in latitude 44° at its entrance. But that any one has ever entered it there is no evidence, for then they would have described it in another manner, in order to relieve the minds of many of this doubt.

¹ Mt. Desert Island now.

² The Penobscot.

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I will accordingly relate truly what I explored and saw, from the beginning as far as I went.

In the first place, there are at its entrance several islands distant ten or twelve leagues from the main land, which are in latitude 44° , and $18^{\circ} 40'$ of the deflection of the magnetic needle. The Isle des Monts Déserts forms one of the extremities of the mouth, on the east; the other is low land, called by the savages Bedabedec,¹ to the west of the former, the two being distant from each other nine or ten leagues. Almost midway between these, out in the ocean, there is another island very high and conspicuous, which on this account I have named Isle Haute.² All around there is a vast number of varying extent and breadth, but the largest is that of the Mont Déserts. Fishing and also hunting are very good here; the fish are of various kinds. Some two or three leagues from the point of Bedabedec, as you coast northward along the main land which extends up this river, there are very high elevations of land,³ which in fair weather are seen twelve or fifteen leagues out at sea. Passing to the south of the Isle Haute, and coasting along the same for a quarter of a league, where there are some reefs out of water, and heading to the west until you open all the mountains northward of this island, you can be sure that, by keeping in sight of the eight or nine peaks of the Monts Déserts and Bedabedec, you will cross the river Norumbegue; and in order to enter it you must keep to the north, that is, towards the highest mountains of Bedabedec, where you will see no islands before you, and can enter, sure of having water enough, although you see a great many breakers, islands, and rocks to the east and west of you. For greater security, one should keep the sounding lead in hand. And my observations lead me to conclude that one cannot enter this river in

¹ The region of Camden, Maine, on the west side of Penobscot Bay.

² Still called Isle au Haute.

³ The Camden hills.

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any other place except in small vessels or shallops. For, as I stated above, there are numerous islands, rocks, shoals, banks, and breakers on all sides, so that it is marvellous to behold.

Now to resume our course: as one enters the river, there are beautiful islands, which are very pleasant and contain fine meadows. We proceeded to a place to which the savages guided us, where the river is not more than an eighth of a league broad, and at a distance of some two hundred paces from the western shore there is a rock on a level with the water, of a dangerous character. From here to the Isle Haute, it is fifteen leagues. From this narrow place, where there is the least breadth that we had found, after sailing some seven or eight leagues, we came to a little river¹ near which it was necessary to anchor, as we saw before us a great many rocks which are uncovered at low tide, and since also, if we had desired to sail farther, we could have gone scarcely half a league, in consequence of a fall of water there coming down a slope of seven or eight feet, which I saw as I went there in a canoe with our savages; and we found only water enough for a canoe. But excepting the fall, which is some two hundred paces broad, the river is beautiful, and unobstructed up to the place where we had anchored. I landed to view the country, and, going on a hunting excursion, found it very pleasant so far as I went. The oaks here appear as if they were planted for ornament. I saw only a few firs, but numerous pines on one side of the river; on the other only oaks, and some copse wood which extends far into the interior. And I will state that from the entrance to where we went, about twenty-five leagues, we saw no town, nor village, nor the appearance of there having been one, but one or two cabins of the savages without inhabitants. These were made in the same way as those of the Souriquois,²

¹ The Kenduskeag River at Bangor. The "narrow place" referred to is just above Castine. The dangerous rock is Fort Point Ledge.

² Indians of Nova Scotia.

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being covered with the bark of trees. So far as we could judge, the savages on this river are few in number, and are called Etechemins. Moreover, they only come to the islands, and that only during some months in summer, for fish and game, of which there is a great quantity. They are a people who have no fixed abode, so far as I could observe and learn from them. For they spend the winter now in one place and now in another, according as they find the best hunting, by which they live when urged by their daily needs, without laying up anything for times of scarcity, which are sometimes severe.

Now this river must of necessity be the Norumbegue; for, having coasted along past it as far as the 41° of latitude, we have found no other on the parallel above mentioned, except that of the Quinibequy,¹ which is almost in the same latitude, but not of great extent. Moreover, there cannot be in any other place a river extending far into the interior of the country, since the great river St. Lawrence washes the coast of La Cadie and Norumbegue, and the distance from one to the other by land is not more than forty-five leagues, or sixty at the widest point, as can be seen on my geographical map.

Now I will drop this discussion to return to the savages who had conducted me to the falls of the river Norumbegue, who went to notify Bessabez, their chief, and other savages, who in turn proceeded to another little river to inform their own, named Cabahis, and give him notice of our arrival.

The 16th of the month there came to us some thirty savages on assurances given them by those who had served us as guides. There came also to us the same day the above named Bessabez with six canoes. As soon as the savages who were on land saw him coming, they all began to sing, dance, and jump, until he had landed. Afterwards, they all seated themselves in a circle on the ground, as is their custom, when they wish to celebrate a festivity, or an harangue is to be made. Cabahis, the other

¹ The Kennebec.

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chief, arrived also a little later with twenty or thirty of his companions, who withdrew one side and greatly enjoyed seeing us, as it was the first time they had seen Christians. A little while after, I went on shore with two of my companions and two of our savages who served as interpreters. I directed the men in our barque to approach near the savages, and hold their arms in readiness to do their duty in case they noticed any movement of these people against us. Bessabez, seeing us on land, bade us sit down, and began to smoke with his companions, as they usually do before an address. They presented us with venison and game.

I directed our interpreter to say to our savages that they should cause Bessabez, Cabahis, and their companions to understand that *Sieur de Monts* had sent me to them to see them, and also their country, and that he desired to preserve friendship with them and to reconcile them with their enemies, the *Souriquois* and *Canadians*, and moreover that he desired to inhabit their country and show them how to cultivate it, in order that they might not continue to lead so miserable a life as they were doing, and some other words on the same subject. This our savages interpreted to them, at which they signified their great satisfaction, saying that no greater good could come to them than to have our friendship, and that they desired to live in peace with their enemies, and that we should dwell in their land, in order that they might in future more than ever before engage in hunting beavers, and give us a part of them in return for our providing them with things which they wanted. After he had finished his discourse, I presented them with hatchets, paternosters,¹ caps, knives, and other little knick-knacks, when we separated from each other. All the rest of this day and the following night, until break of day, they did nothing but dance, sing, and make merry, after which we traded for a certain

¹ Perhaps Champlain gave rosaries to the Indians, but more probably he refers to the long fishline called a paternoster.

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number of beavers. Then each party returned, Bessabez with his companions on the one side, and we on the other, highly pleased at having made the acquaintance of this people.

The 17th of the month I took the altitude, and found the latitude $45^{\circ} 25'$. This done, we set out for another river called Quinibequy, distant from the place thirty-five leagues, and nearly twenty from Bedabedec. This nation of savages of Quinibequy are called Etechemins, as well as those of Norumbegue.

The 18th of the month we passed near a small river where Cabahis was, who came with us in our barque some twelve leagues; and having asked him whence came the river Norumbegue, he told me that it passes the fall which I mentioned above, and that one journeying some distance on it enters a lake by way of which they come to the river of St. Croix, by going some distance over land, and then entering the river of the Etechemins. Moreover, another river enters the lake, along which they proceed some days, and afterwards enter another lake and pass through the midst of it. Reaching the end of it, they make again a land journey of some distance, and then enter another little river,¹ which has its mouth a league from Quebec, which is on the great river of St. Lawrence. All these people of Norumbegue are very swarthy, dressed in beaver-skins and other furs, like the Canadian and Souriquois savages, and they have the same mode of life.

The 20th of the month we sailed along the western coast, and passed the mountains of Bedabedec, when we anchored. The same day we explored the entrance to the river, where large vessels can approach; but there are inside some reefs, to avoid which one must advance with sounding lead in hand. Our savages left us, as they did not wish to go to Quinibequy, for the savages of that place are great enemies to them. We sailed some eight leagues along the western coast to an island

¹ The Chaudière.

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ten leagues distant from Quinibequy, where we were obliged to put in on account of bad weather and contrary wind. At one point in our course, we passed a large number of islands and breakers extending some leagues out to sea, and very dangerous. And in view of the bad weather, which was so unfavorable to us, we did not sail more than three or four leagues farther. All these islands and coasts are covered with extensive woods, of the same sort as that which I have reported above as existing on the other coasts. And in consideration of the small quantity of provisions which we had, we resolved to return to our settlement and wait until the following year, when we hoped to return and explore more extensively. We accordingly set out on our return on the 23d of September, and arrived at our settlement on the 2d of October following.

The above is an exact statement of all that I have observed respecting not only the coasts and people, but also the river Norumbegue; and there are none of the marvels there which some persons have described. I am of opinion that this region is as disagreeable in winter as that of our settlement, in which we were greatly deceived.

Chapter 6.

Of the Mal de la Terre, a very desperate malady. How the savages, men and women, spend their time in winter. And all that occurred at the settlement while we were passing the winter.

When we arrived at the Island of St. Croix, each one had finished his place of abode. Winter came upon us sooner than we expected, and prevented us from doing many things which we had proposed. Nevertheless, Sieur de Monts did not fail to have some gardens made on the island. Many began to clear up the ground, each his own. I also did so with mine,

which was very large, where I planted a quantity of seeds, as also did the others who had any, and they came up very well. But since the island was all sandy, everything dried up almost as soon as the sun shone upon it, and we had no water for irrigation except from the rain, which was infrequent.

Sieur de Monts caused also clearings to be made on the main land for making gardens, and at the falls three leagues from our settlement he had work done and some wheat sown, which came up very well and ripened. Around our habitation there is, at low tide, a large number of shell-fish, such as cockles, muscles, sea-urchins, and sea-snails, which were very acceptable to all.

The snows began on the 6th of October. On the 3d of December, we saw ice pass which came from some frozen river. The cold was sharp, more severe than in France, and of much longer duration; and it scarcely rained at all the entire winter. I suppose that is owing to the north and north-west winds passing over high mountains always covered with snow. The latter was from three to four feet deep up to the end of the month of April; lasting much longer, I suppose, than it would be if the country were cultivated.

During the winter, many of our company were attacked by a certain malady called the mal de la terre; otherwise scurvy, as I have since heard from learned men. There were produced, in the mouths of those who had it, great pieces of superfluous and drivelling flesh (causing extensive putrefaction), which got the upper hand to such an extent that scarcely anything but liquid could be taken. Their teeth became very loose, and could be pulled out with the fingers without its causing them pain. The superfluous flesh was often cut out, which caused them to eject much blood through the mouth. Afterwards, a violent pain seized their arms and legs, which remained swollen and very hard, all spotted as if with flea-bites; and they could not walk on account of the contraction of the muscles so that they were almost without strength, and suffered intolerable pains.

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They experienced pain also in the loins, stomach, and bowels, had a very bad cough, and short breath. In a word, they were in such a condition that the majority of them could not rise nor move, and could not even be raised up on their feet without falling down in a swoon. So that out of seventy-nine, who composed our party, thirty-five died, and more than twenty were on the point of death. The majority of those who remained well also complained of slight pains and short breath. We were unable to find any remedy for these maladies. A *post mortem* examination of several was made to investigate the cause of their disease.

In the case of many, the interior parts were found mortified, such as the lungs, which were so changed that no natural fluid could be perceived in them. The spleen was serious and swollen. The liver was *lequeux*?¹ and spotted, without its natural color. The *vena cava*, superior and inferior, was filled with thick coagulated and black blood. The gall was tainted. Nevertheless, many arteries, in the middle as well as lower bowels, were found in very good condition. In the case of some, incisions with a razor were made on the thighs where they had purple spots, whence there issued a very black clotted blood. This is what was observed on the bodies of those infected with this malady.

Our surgeons could not help suffering themselves in the same manner as the rest. Those who continued sick were healed by spring, which commences in this country in May. That led us to believe that the change of season restored their health rather than the remedies prescribed.

During this winter, all our liquors froze, except the Spanish wine.² Cider was dispensed by the pound. The cause of this loss was that there were no cellars to our storehouse, and that the air which entered by the cracks was sharper than that out-

¹ Probably *ligneux* = woody or fibrous.

² Sherry.

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side. We were obliged to use very bad water, and drink melted snow, as there were no springs nor brooks; for it was not possible to go to the main land in consequence of the great pieces of ice drifted by the tide, which varies three fathoms between low and high water. Work on the hand-mill was very fatiguing, since the most of us, having slept poorly, and suffering from insufficiency of fuel, which we could not obtain on account of the ice, had scarcely any strength, and also because we ate only salt meat and vegetables during the winter, which produce bad blood. The latter circumstance was, in my opinion, a partial cause of these dreadful maladies. All this produced discontent in *Sieur de Monts* and others of the settlement.

It would be very difficult to ascertain the character of this region without spending a winter in it; for, on arriving here in summer, every thing is very agreeable, in consequence of the woods, fine country, and the many varieties of good fish which are found there. There are six months of winter in this country.

The savages who dwell here are few in number. During the winter, in the deepest snows, they hunt elks and other animals, on which they live most of the time. And, unless the snow is deep, they scarcely get rewarded for their pains, since they cannot capture anything except by a very great effort, which is the reason for their enduring and suffering much. When they do not hunt, they live on a shell-fish, called the cockle. They clothe themselves in winter with good furs of beaver and elk. The women make all the garments, but not so exactly but that you can see the flesh under the arm-pits, because they have not ingenuity enough to fit them better. When they go a hunting, they use a kind of snow-shoe twice as large as those hereabouts, which they attach to the soles of their feet, and walk thus over the snow without sinking in, the women and children as well as the men. They search for the track of animals, which, having found, they follow, until they get sight of the creature, when

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they shoot at it with their bows, or kill it by means of daggers attached to the end of a short pike, which is very easily done, as the animals cannot walk on the snow without sinking in. Then the women and children come up, erect a hut, and they give themselves to feasting. Afterwards, they return in search of other animals, and thus they pass the winter. In the month of March following, some savages came and gave us a portion of their game in exchange for bread and other things which we gave them. This is the mode of life in winter of these people, which seems to me a very miserable one.

We looked for our vessels at the end of April; but, as this passed without their arriving, all began to have an ill-boding, fearing that some accident had befallen them. For this reason, on the 15th of May, *Sieur de Monts* decided to have a barque of fifteen tons and another of seven fitted up, so that we might go at the end of the month of June to *Gaspé* in quest of vessels in which to return to France, in case our own should not meanwhile arrive. But God helped us better than we hoped; for, on the 15th of June ensuing, while on guard about 11 o'clock at night, *Pont Gravé*, captain of one of the vessels of *Sieur de Monts*, arriving in a shallop, informed us that his ship was anchored six leagues from our settlement, and he was welcomed amid the great joy of all.

The next day the vessel arrived, and anchored near our habitation. *Pont Gravé* informed us that a vessel from *St. Malo*, called the *St. Estienne*, was following him, bringing us provisions and supplies.

On the 17th of the month, *Sieur de Monts* decided to go in quest of a place better adapted for an abode, and with a better temperature than our own. With this view, he had the barque made ready, in which he had purposed to go to *Gaspé*.

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Chapter 7.

Discovery of the coast of the Almouchiquois as far as the forty-second degree of latitude, and details of this voyage.

On the 18th of June, 1605, Sieur de Monts set out from the Island of St. Croix with some gentlemen, twenty sailors, and a savage named Panounias, together with his wife, whom he was unwilling to leave behind. These we took, in order to serve us as guides to the country of the Almouchiquois, in the hope of exploring and learning more particularly by their aid what the character of this country was, especially since she was a native of it.

Coasting along inside of Manan, an island three leagues from the main land, we came to the Ranges on the seaward side, at one of which we anchored, where there was a large number of crows, of which our men captured a great many, and we called it the Isle aux Corneilles. Thence we went to the Island of Monts Déserts, at the entrance of the river Norumbegue, as I have before stated, and sailed five or six leagues among many islands. Here there came to us three savages in a canoe from Bedabedec Point, where their captain was; and, after we had had some conversation with them, they returned the same day.

On Friday, the 1st of July, we set out from one of the islands at the mouth of the river, where there is a very good harbor for vessels of a hundred or a hundred and fifty tons. This day we made some twenty-five leagues between Bedabedec Point and many islands and rocks, which we observed as far as the river Quinibequy, at the mouth of which is a very high island, which we called the Tortoise.¹ Between the latter and the main land there are some scattering rocks which are covered at full tide, although the sea is then seen to break over them. Tortoise Island and the river lie south-south-east and north-

¹ Seguin Island.

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north-west. As you enter, there are two medium-sized islands forming the entrance, one on one side, the other on the other; and some three hundred paces farther in are two rocks, where there is no wood, but some little grass. We anchored three hundred paces from the entrance in five and six fathoms of water. While in this place, we were overtaken by fogs on account of which we resolved to enter, in order to see the upper part of the river and the savages who live there; and we set out for this purpose on the 5th of the month. Having made some leagues our barque came near being lost on a rock which we grazed in passing. Further on, we met two canoes which had come to hunt birds, which for the most part are moulting at this season, and cannot fly. We addressed these savages by aid of our own, who went to them with his wife, who made them understand the reason of our coming. We made friends with them and with the savages of this river, who served us as guides. Proceeding farther, in order to see their captain, named Manthoumermer, we passed, after we had gone seven or eight leagues, by some islands, straits, and brooks, which extend along the river, where we saw some fine meadows. After we had coasted along an island some four leagues in length, they conducted us to where their chief was with twenty-five or thirty savages, who, as soon as we had anchored, came to us in a canoe, separated a short distance from ten others, in which were those who accompanied him.¹ Coming near our barque, he made an harangue, in which he expressed the pleasure it gave him to see us, and said that he desired to form an alliance with us and to make peace with his enemies through our mediation. He said that, on the next day, he would send two other captains of savages, who were in the interior, one called Marchin, and the other Sasinou, chief of the river Quinibequy. *Sieur de Monts* gave them some cakes and peas, with which they were greatly pleased. The next day they guided us down

¹ Westport Island and Wiscasset harbor.

the river another way than that by which we had come, in order to go to a lake; and, passing by some islands, they left, each one of them, an arrow near a cape¹ where all the savages pass, and they believe that if they should not do this some misfortune would befall them, according to the persuasions of the devil. They live in such superstitions, and practise many others of the same sort. Beyond this cape we passed a very narrow waterfall, but only with great difficulty; for, although we had a favorable and fresh wind, and trimmed our sails to receive it as well as possible, in order to see whether we could not pass it in that way, we were obliged to attach a hawser to some trees on shore and all pull on it. In this way, by means of our arms together with the help of the wind, which was favorable to us, we succeeded in passing it. The savages accompanying us carried their canoes by land, being unable to row them. After going over this fall, we saw some fine meadows. I was greatly surprised by this fall, since as we descended with the tide we found it in our favor, but contrary to us when we came to the fall. But, after we had passed it, it descended as before, which gave us great satisfaction. Pursuing our route, we came to the lake, which is from three to four leagues in length.² Here are some islands, and two rivers enter it, the Quinibequey coming from the north-north-east, and the other from the north-west, whence were to come Marchin and Sasinou. Having awaited them all this day, and as they did not come, we resolved to improve our time. We weighed anchor accordingly, and there accompanied us two savages from this lake to serve as guides. The same day we anchored at the mouth

¹ Hockomock Point. Dr. Slafter describes the probable route of the explorers thus: "Entering the mouth of the Kennebec, they went on a flood-tide up Back River and into Hockomock Bay, then southward around the south end of Westport Island, up its east side to Wiscasset, down its west side, around Hockomock Point, and so through the Sasanoa River, Upper Hell Gate, the Sagadahoc, and the Neck, and into Merrymeeting Bay."

² Merrymeeting Bay, at the junction of the Kennebec and Androscoggin.

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of the river, where we caught a large number of excellent fish of various sorts. Meanwhile, our savages went hunting, but did not return. The route by which we descended this river is much safer and better than that by which we had gone. Tortoise Island before the mouth of this river is in latitude 44° ; and $19^{\circ} 12'$ of the deflection of the magnetic needle. They go by this river across the country to Quebec some fifty leagues, making only one portage of two leagues. After the portage, you enter another little stream which flows into the great river St. Lawrence.¹ This river Quinibequy is very dangerous for vessels half a league from its mouth, on account of the small amount of water, great tides, rocks and shoals outside as well as within. But it has a good channel, if it were well marked out. The land, so far as I have seen it along the shores of the river, is very poor, for there are only rocks on all sides. There are a great many small oaks, and very little arable land. Fish abound here, as in the other rivers which I have mentioned. The people live like those in the neighborhood of our settlement; and they told us that the savages, who plant the Indian corn, dwelt very far in the interior, and that they had given up planting it on the coasts on account of the war they had with others, who came and took it away. This is what I have been able to learn about this region, which I think is no better than the others.

On the 8th of the month, we set out from the mouth of this river, not being able to do so sooner on account of the fogs. We made that day some four leagues, and passed a bay, where there are a great many islands. From here large mountains are seen to the west,² in which is the dwelling-place of a savage captain called Aneda, who encamps near the river Quinibequy. I was satisfied from this name that it was one of his tribe that

¹ The Chaudière.

² Probably the White Mountains, visible from Casco Bay.

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had discovered the plant called Aneda,¹ which Jacques Cartier said was so powerful against the malady called scurvy, of which we have already spoken, which harassed his company as well as our own, when they wintered in Canada. The savages have no knowledge at all of this plant, and are not aware of its existence, although the above-mentioned savage has the same name. The following day we made eight leagues. As we passed along the coast, we perceived two columns of smoke which some savages made to attract our attention. We went and anchored in the direction of them behind a small island² near the main land, where we saw more than eighty savages running along the shore to see us, dancing and giving expression to their joy. Sieur de Monts sent two men together with our savage to visit them. After they had spoken some time with them, and assured them of our friendship, we left with them one of our number, and they delivered to us one of their companions as a hostage. Meanwhile, Sieur de Monts visited an island, which is very beautiful in view of what it produces; for it has fine oaks and nut-trees, the soil cleared up, and many vineyards bearing beautiful grapes in their season, which were the first we had seen on all these coasts from the Cap de la Hève. We named it Isle de Bacchus.³ It being full tide, we weighed anchor and entered a little river, which we could not sooner do; for there is a bar, there being at low tide only half a fathom of water, at full tide a fathom and a half, and at the highest water two fathoms. On the other side of the bar there are three, four, five, and six fathoms. When we had anchored, a large number of savages came to the bank of the river, and began to dance. Their captain at the time, whom they called Honemechin, was not with them. He arrived about two or three hours later with two canoes, when he came sweeping

¹ Said to be the white pine.

² At Old Orchard Beach — the island is Stratton Island. The Indians came down from what is now called Prout's Neck.

³ Richmond Island.

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entirely round our barque. Our savage could understand only a few words, as the language of the Almouchiquois (for that is the name of this nation) differs entirely from that of the Souriquois and Etechemins. These people gave signs of being greatly pleased. Their chief had a good figure, was young and agile. We sent some articles of merchandise on shore to barter with them; but they had nothing but their robes to give in exchange, for they preserve only such furs as they need for their garments. Sieur de Monts ordered some provisions to be given to their chief, with which he was greatly pleased, and came several times to the side of our boat to see us. These savages shave off the hair far up on the head, and wear what remains very long, which they comb and twist behind in various ways very neatly, intertwined with feathers which they attach to the head. They paint their faces black and red, like the other savages which we have seen. They are an agile people, with well-formed bodies. Their weapons are pikes, clubs, bows and arrows, at the end of which some attach the tail of a fish called the signoc, others bones, while the arrows of others are entirely of wood. They till and cultivate the soil, something which we have not hitherto observed. In the place of ploughs, they use an instrument of very hard wood, shaped like a spade. This river is called by the inhabitants of the country Choüacoet.¹

The next day Sieur de Monts and I landed to observe their tillage on the bank of the river. We saw their Indian corn, which they raise in gardens. Planting three or four kernels in one place, they then heap up about it a quantity of earth with shells of the signoc before mentioned. Then three feet distant they planted as much more, and thus in succession. With this corn they put in each hill three or four Brazilian beans, which are of different colors. When they grow up, they interlace with the corn, which reaches to the height of from five to six feet; and they keep the ground very free from weeds. We saw

¹ The Saco River.

there many squashes, and pumpkins, and tobacco, which they likewise cultivate.

The Indian corn which we saw was at that time about two feet high, some of it as high as three. The beans were beginning to flower, as also the pumpkins and squashes. They plant their corn in May, and gather it in September. We saw also a great many nuts, which are small and have several divisions. There were as yet none on the trees, but we found plenty under them, from the preceding year. We saw also many grape-vines, on which there was a remarkably fine berry, from which we made some very good verjuice. We had heretofore seen grapes only on the Island of Bacchus, distant nearly two leagues from this river. Their permanent abode, the tillage, and the fine trees led us to conclude that the air here is milder and better than that where we passed the winter, and at the other places we visited on the coast. But I cannot believe that there is not here a considerable degree of cold, although it is in latitude $43^{\circ} 45'$. The forests in the interior are very thin, although abounding in oaks, beeches, ash, and elms; in wet places there are many willows. The savages dwell permanently in this place, and have a large cabin surrounded by palisades made of rather large trees placed by the side of each other, in which they take refuge when their enemies make war upon them. They cover their cabins with oak bark. This place is very pleasant, and as agreeable as any to be seen. The river is very abundant in fish, and is bordered by meadows. At the mouth there is a small island[†] adapted for the construction of a good fortress, where one could be in security.

On Sunday, the 12th of the month, we set out from the river Choüacoet. After coasting along some six or seven leagues, a contrary wind arose, which obliged us to anchor and go ashore, where we saw two meadows, each a league in length and half a league in breadth. We saw there two

[†] Ram Island.

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savages, whom at first we took to be the great birds called bustards, to be found in this country; who, as soon as they caught sight of us, took flight into the woods, and were not seen again. From Choüacoet to this place, where we saw some little birds, which sing like blackbirds, and are black excepting the ends of the wings, which are orange-colored, there is a large number of grape-vines and nut-trees. This coast is sandy, for the most part, all the way from Quinibequy. This day we returned two or three leagues towards Choüacoet, as far as a cape which we called Island Harbor,¹ favorable for vessels of a hundred tons, about which are three islands. Heading north-east a quarter north, one can enter another harbor² near this place, to which there is no approach, although there are islands, except the one where you enter. At the entrance there are some dangerous reefs. There are in these islands so many red currants that one sees for the most part nothing else, and an infinite number of pigeons, of which we took a great quantity. This Island Harbor is in latitude $43^{\circ} 25'$.

On the 15th of the month we made twelve leagues. Coasting along, we perceived a smoke on the shore, which we approached as near as possible, but saw no savage, which led us to believe that they had fled. The sun set, and we could find no harbor for that night, since the coast was flat and sandy. Keeping off, and heading south, in order to find an anchorage, after proceeding about two leagues, we observed a cape³ on the main land south a quarter south-east of us, some six leagues distant. Two leagues to the east we saw three or four rather high islands,⁴ and on the west a large bay. The coast of this bay, reaching as far as the cape, extends inland from where we were perhaps four leagues. It has a breadth of two leagues from north to south, and three at its entrance. Not observing

¹ Cape Porpoise harbor.

² Goose Fair Bay.

³ Cape Ann.

⁴ The Isles of Shoals, which Capt. John Smith later named after himself.

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any place favorable for putting in, we resolved to go to the cape above mentioned with short sail, which occupied a portion of the night. Approaching to where there were sixteen fathoms of water, we anchored until daybreak.

On the next day we went to the above-mentioned cape, where there are three islands¹ near the main land, full of wood of different kinds, as at Choüacoet and all along the coast; and still another flat one, where there are breakers, and which extends a little farther out to sea than the others, on which there is no wood at all. We named this place Island Cape, near which we saw a canoe containing five or six savages, who came out near our barque, and then went back and danced on the beach. *Sieur de Monts* sent me on shore to observe them, and to give each one of them a knife and some biscuit, which caused them to dance again better than before. This over, I made them understand, as well as I could, that I desired them to show me the course of the shore. After I had drawn with a crayon the bay, and the Island Cape, where we were, with the same crayon they drew the outline of another bay,² which they represented as very large; here they placed six pebbles at equal distances apart, giving them to understand by this that these signs represented as many chiefs and tribes. Then they drew within the first-mentioned bay a river³ which we had passed, which has shoals and is very long. We found in this place a great many vines, the green grapes on which were a little larger than peas, also many nut-trees the nuts on which were no larger than musket-balls. The savages told us that all those inhabiting this country cultivated the land and sowed seeds like the others, whom we had before seen. The latitude of this place is 43° and some minutes. Sailing half a league farther, we observed several savages on a rocky point, who ran

¹ Straitsmouth, Thatcher, and Milk Islands, near Cape Ann, which islands *Capt. Smith* called "Three 'Turks' Heads."

² Massachusetts Bay.

³ The Merrimac River.

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along the shore, dancing as they went, to their companions to inform them of our coming. After pointing out to us the direction of their abode, they made a signal with smoke to show us the place of their settlement. We anchored near a little island, and sent our canoe with knives and cakes for the savages. From the large number of those we saw, we concluded that these places were better inhabited than the others we had seen.

After a stay of some two hours for the sake of observing these people, whose canoes are made of birch bark, like those of the Canadians, Souriquois, and Etechemins, we weighed anchor and set sail with a promise of fine weather. Continuing our course to the west-south-west, we saw numerous islands on one side and the other. Having sailed seven or eight leagues, we anchored near an island, whence we observed many smokes along the shore, and many savages running up to see us. *Sieur de Monts* sent two or three men in a canoe to them, to whom he gave some knives and paternosters to present to them; and with which they were greatly pleased, and danced several times in acknowledgment. We could not ascertain the name of their chief, as we did not know their language. All along the shore there is a great deal of land cleared up and planted with Indian corn. The country is very pleasant and agreeable, and there is no lack of fine trees. The canoes of those who live there are made of a single piece, and are very liable to turn over if one is not skilful in managing them. We had not before seen any of this kind. They are made in the following manner. After cutting down, at a cost of much labor and time, the largest and tallest tree they can find, by means of stone hatchets (for they have no others except some few which they received from the savages on the coasts of *La Cadie*,¹ who obtained them in ex-

¹ The origin and meaning of this word has been much disputed. Champlain uses the forms "Arcadie, Accadie, La Cadie, Acadie, L'Acadie." *Lescarbot* always wrote *La Cadie*. Its Indian source is probably seen in the words *Passemacadie*, *Shubenacadie*, *Tracadie*. These meanings have been offered: 1, The land of dogs. 2, Our village. 3, The fish called pollock. 4, Place. 5, Abundance of anything.

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change for furs), they remove the bark, and round off the tree except on one side, where they apply fire gradually along its entire length; and sometimes they put red-hot pebble-stones on top. When the fire is too fierce, they extinguish it with a little water, not entirely, but so that the edge of the boat may not be burnt. It being hollowed out as much as they wish, they scrape it all over with stones, which they use instead of knives. These stones resemble our musket flints.

On the next day the 17th of the month, we weighed anchor to go to a cape we had seen the day before, which seemed to lie on our south-south-west. This day we were able to make only five leagues, and we passed by some islands¹ covered with wood. I observed in the bay all that the savages had described to me at Island Cape. As we continued our course, large numbers came to us in canoes from the islands and main land. We anchored a league from a cape,² which we named St. Louis, where we noticed smoke in several places. While in the act of going there, our barque grounded on a rock, where we were in great danger, for, if we had not speedily got it off, we would have been overturned in the sea, since the tide was falling all around, and there were five or six fathoms of water. But God preserved us, and we anchored near the above-named cape, when there came to us fifteen or sixteen canoes of savages. In some there were fifteen or sixteen, who began to manifest great signs of joy, and made various harangues, which we could not in the least understand. *Sieur de Monts* sent three or four men on shore in our canoe, not only to get water, but to see their chief, whose name was *Honabetha*. The latter had a number of knives and other trifles, which *Sieur de Monts* gave him, when he came alongside to see us, together with some of his companions, who were present both along the shore and in their canoes. We received the chief very cordially, and made

¹ Perhaps the islands in Boston Harbor.

² Brant Point.

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him welcome; who, after remaining some time, went back. Those whom we had sent to them brought us some little squashes as big as a fist, which we ate as a salad, like cucumbers, and which we found very good. They brought us also some purslane, which grows in large quantities among the Indian corn, and of which they make no more account than of weeds. We saw here a great many little houses, scattered over the fields where they plant their Indian corn.

There is, moreover, in this bay a very broad river, which we named River du Guast.¹ It stretches, as it seemed to me, towards the Iroquois, a nation in open warfare with the Montagnais, who live on the great river St. Lawrence.

Chapter 8.

Continuation of the discoveries along the coast of the Almouchiquois, and what we observed in detail.

The next day we redoubled Cap St. Louis, so named by Sieur de Monts, a land rather low, and in latitude $42^{\circ} 45'$.² The same day we sailed two leagues along a sandy coast, as we passed along which we saw a great many cabins and gardens. The wind being contrary, we entered a little bay to await a time favorable for proceeding. There came to us two or three canoes, which had just been fishing for cod and other fish which are found there in large numbers. These they catch with hooks made of pieces of wood, to which they attach a bone in the shape of a spear, and fasten it very securely. The whole has a fang-shape, and the line attached to it is made out of the bark of a tree. They gave me one of their hooks,

¹ Charles River; du Guast was the family name of Sieur de Monts. It is also, and perhaps more commonly, spelled "du Gua." Champlain saw only the mouth of the Charles, and therefore supposed it to be a "broad" river:

² Actually $42^{\circ} 5'$.

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which I took as a curiosity. In it the bone was fastened on by hemp, like that in France, as it seemed to me, and they told me that they gathered this plant without being obliged to cultivate it; and indicated that it grew to the height of four or five feet.¹ This canoe went back on shore to give notice to their fellow inhabitants, who caused columns of smoke to rise on our account. We saw eighteen or twenty savages, who came to the shore and began to dance. Our canoe landed in order to give them some bagatelles, at which they were greatly pleased. Some of them came to us, and begged us to go to their river. We weighed anchor to do so, but were unable to enter on account of the very small amount of water, it being low tide, and were accordingly obliged to anchor at the mouth. I went ashore, where I saw many others, who received us very cordially. I made also an examination of the river, but saw only an arm of water extending a short distance inland, where the land is only in part cleared up. Running into this is merely a brook not deep enough for boats except at full tide. The circuit of the bay is about a league. On one side of the entrance of this bay there is a point which is almost an island, covered with wood, principally pines, and adjoins sand-banks, which are very extensive. On the other side, the land is high. There are two islets in this bay, which are not seen until one has entered, and around which it is almost entirely dry at low tide. This place is very conspicuous from the sea, for the coast is very low, excepting the cape at the entrance to the bay.² We named it the Port du Cap St. Louis, distant two leagues from the above cape, and ten from the Island Cape. It is about the same latitude as Cap St. Louis.

On the 19th of the month, we set out from this place. Coasting along in a southerly direction, we sailed four or five leagues, and passed near a rock on a level with the surface of the water.

¹ Indian hemp or swamp milkweed.

² The harbor of Plymouth.

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As we continued our course, we saw some land which seemed to us to be islands, but as we came nearer we found it to be the mainland, lying to the north-north-west of us, and that it was the cape of a large bay, containing more than eighteen or nineteen leagues in circuit, into which we had run so far that we had to wear off on the other tack in order to double the cape which we had seen. The latter we named Cap Blanc,¹ since it contained sands and downs that had a white appearance. A favorable wind was of great assistance to us here, for otherwise we should have been in danger of being driven upon the coast. This bay is very safe, provided the land is not approached nearer than a good league, there being no islands or rocks except that just mentioned, which is near a river that extends some distance inland, which we named St. Suzanne du Cap Blanc,² whence across to Cap St. Louis the distance is ten leagues. Cap Blanc is a point of sand, which bends around toward the south some six leagues. This coast is rather high, and consists of sand, which is very conspicuous as one comes from the sea. At a distance of some fifteen or eighteen leagues from land, the depth of the water is thirty, forty, and fifty fathoms, but only ten on nearing the shore, which is unobstructed. There is a large extent of open country along the shore before reaching the woods, which are very attractive and beautiful. We anchored on the coast, and saw some savages, towards whom four of our company proceeded. Making their way upon a sand-bank, they observed something like a bay, and cabins bordering it on all sides. When they were about a league and a half from us, there came to them a savage dancing all over, as they expressed it. He had come down from the high shore, but turned about shortly after to inform his fellow inhabitants of our arrival.

¹ This is Cape Cod, already so named by Gosnold in 1602. The bay, of course, is Cape Cod Bay.

² Wellfleet harbor.

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The next day, the 20th of the month, we went to the place which our men had seen, and which we found a very dangerous harbor in consequence of the shoals and banks, where we saw breakers in all directions. It was almost low tide when we entered, and there were only four feet of water in the northern passage; at high tide there are two fathoms. After we had entered, we found the place very spacious, being perhaps three or four leagues in circuit, entirely surrounded by little houses, around each of which there was as much land as the occupant needed for his support. A small river enters here, which is very pretty, in which at low tide there are some three and a half feet of water. There are also two or three brooks bordered by meadows. It would be a very fine place, if the harbor were good. I took the altitude, and found the latitude 42° , and the deflection of the magnetic needle $18^{\circ} 40'$. Many savages, men and women, visited us, and ran up on all sides dancing. We named this place Port de Mallebarre.¹

The next day, the 21st of the month, Sieur de Monts determined to go and see their habitation. Nine or ten of us accompanied him with our arms; the rest remained to guard the barque. We went about a league along the coast. Before reaching their cabins, we entered a field planted with Indian corn in the manner above described. The corn was in flower, and five and a half feet high. There was some less advanced, which they plant later. We saw many Brazilian beans, and many squashes of various sizes, very good for eating; some tobacco, and roots which they cultivate, the latter having the taste of an artichoke. The woods are filled with oaks, nut-trees, and beautiful cypresses,² which are of a reddish color and have a very pleasant odor. There were also several fields entirely uncultivated, the land being allowed to remain fallow. When they wish to plant it they set fire to the weeds, and

¹ Now Nauset Harbor.

² Red cedars.

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then work it over with their wooden spades. Their cabins are round, and covered with heavy thatch made of reeds. In the roof there is an opening of about a foot and a half, whence the smoke from the fire passes out. We asked them if they had their permanent abode in this place, and whether there was much snow. But we were unable to ascertain this fully from them, not understanding their language, although they made an attempt to inform us by signs, by taking some sand in their hands, spreading it out over the ground, and indicating that it was of the color of our collars, and that it reached the depth of a foot. Others made signs that there was less, and gave us to understand also that the harbor never froze; but we were unable to ascertain whether the snow lasted long. I conclude, however, that this region is of moderate temperature, and the winter not severe. While we were there, there was a north-east storm, which lasted four days; the sky being so overcast that the sun hardly shone at all. It was very cold, and we were obliged to put on our great coats, which we had entirely left off. Yet I think the cold was accidental, as it is often experienced elsewhere out of season.

On the 23d of July, four or five seamen having gone on shore with some kettles to get fresh water, which was to be found in one of the sand-banks a short distance from our barque, some of the savages, coveting them, watched the time when our men went to the spring, and then seized one out of the hands of a sailor, who was the first to dip, and who had no weapons. One of his companions, starting to run after him, soon returned, as he could not catch him, since he ran much faster than himself. The other savages, of whom there were a large number, seeing our sailors running to our barque and at the same time shouting to us to fire at them, took to flight. At the time there were some of them in our barque, who threw themselves into the sea, only one of whom we were able to seize. Those on the land who had taken to flight, see-

ing them swimming, returned straight to the sailor from whom they had taken away the kettle, hurled several arrows at him from behind, and brought him down. Seeing this, they ran at once to him, and despatched him with their knives. Meanwhile, haste was made to go on shore, and muskets were fired from our barque: mine, bursting in my hands, came near killing me. The savages, hearing this discharge of fire-arms, took to flight, and with redoubled speed when they saw that we had landed, for they were afraid when they saw us running after them. There was no likelihood of our catching them, for they are as swift as horses. We brought in the murdered man, and he was buried some hours later. Meanwhile, we kept the prisoner bound by the feet and hands on board of our barque, fearing that he might escape. But *Sieur de Monts* resolved to let him go, being persuaded that he was not to blame, and that he had no previous knowledge of what had transpired, as also those who, at the time, were in and about our barque. Some hours later there came some savages to us, to excuse themselves, indicating by signs and demonstrations that it was not they who had committed this malicious act, but others farther off in the interior. We did not wish to harm them, although it was in our power to avenge ourselves.

All these savages from the *Island Cape* wear neither robes nor furs, except very rarely; moreover, their robes are made of grasses and hemp, scarcely covering the body, and coming down only to their thighs. They have only the sexual parts concealed with a small piece of leather; so likewise the women, with whom it comes down a little lower behind than with the men, all the rest of the body being naked. Whenever the women came to see us, they wore robes which were open in front. The men cut off the hair on the top of the head like those at the river *Choüacoet*. I saw, among other things, a girl with her hair very neatly dressed, with skin colored red, and bordered on the upper part with little shell beads. A part of

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her hair hung down behind, the rest being braided in various ways. These people paint the face red, black, and yellow. They have scarcely any beard, and tear it out as fast as it grows. Their bodies are well-proportioned. I cannot tell what government they have but I think that in this respect they resemble their neighbors, who have none at all. They know not how to worship or pray; yet, like the other savages, they have some superstitions, which I shall describe in their place. As for weapons, they have only pikes, clubs, bows and arrows. It would seem from their appearance that they have a good disposition, better than those of the north, but they are all in fact of no great worth. Even a slight intercourse with them gives you at once a knowledge of them. They are great thieves and, if they cannot lay hold of any thing with their hands, they try to do so with their feet, as we have oftentimes learned by experience. I am of opinion that, if they had any thing to exchange with us, they would not give themselves to thieving. They bartered away to us their bows, arrows, and quivers for pins and buttons; and if they had had any thing else better they would have done the same with it. It is necessary to be on one's guard against this people, and live in a state of distrust of them, yet without letting them perceive it. They gave us a large quantity of tobacco, which they dry and then reduce to powder. When they eat Indian corn, they boil it in earthen pots, which they make in a way different from ours. They bray it also in wooden mortars and reduce it to flour, of which they then make cakes, like the Indians of Peru.

In this place and along the whole coast from *Quinibequy*, there are a great many *siguenocs*,¹ which is a fish with a shell on its back like the tortoise, yet different, there being in the middle a row of little prickles, of the color of a dead leaf, like the rest of the fish. At the end of this shell, there is another still smaller, bordered by very sharp points. The length of the tail

¹ The king-crab, or horse-foot.

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varies according to their size. With the end of it, these people point their arrows, and it contains also a row of prickles like the large shell in which are the eyes. There are eight small feet like those of the crab, and two behind longer and flatter which they use in swimming. There are also in front two other very small ones with which they eat. When walking, all the feet are concealed excepting the two hindermost, which are slightly visible. Under the small shell there are membranes which swell up, and beat like the throat of a frog, and rest upon each other like the folds of a waistcoat. The largest specimen of this fish that I saw was a foot broad, and a foot and a half long.

We saw also a sea-bird¹ with a black beak, the upper part slightly aquiline, four inches long and in the form of a lancet; namely, the lower part representing the handle and the upper the blade, which is thin, sharp on both sides, and shorter by a third than the other, which circumstance is a matter of astonishment to many persons, who cannot comprehend how it is possible for this bird to eat with such a beak. It is of the size of a pigeon, the wings being very long in proportion to the body, the tail short, as also the legs, which are red; the feet being small and flat. The plumage on the upper part is gray-brown, and on the under part pure white. They go always in flocks along the sea-shore, like the pigeons with us.

The savages, along all these coasts where we have been, say that other birds which are very large come along when their corn is ripe. They imitated for us their cry, which resembles that of the turkey. They showed us their feathers in several places, with which they feather their arrows, and which they put on their heads for decoration; and also a kind of hair which they have under the throat like those we have in France, and they say that a red crest falls over upon the beak. According to their description, they are as large as a bustard, which is a

¹ The razor-bill, or cut-water.

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kind of goose, having the neck longer and twice as large as those with us. All these indications led us to conclude that they were turkeys. We should have been glad to see some of these birds, as well as their feathers, for the sake of greater certainty. Before seeing their feathers, and the little bunch of hair which they have under the throat, and hearing their cry imitated, I should have thought that they were certainly birds like turkeys, which are found in some places in Peru, along the sea-shore, eating carrion and other dead things like crows. But these are not so large; nor do they have so long a bill, or a cry like that of real turkeys; nor are they good to eat like those which the Indians say come in flocks in summer, and at the beginning of winter go away to warmer countries, their natural dwelling-place.

Chapter 9.

Return from the discoveries along the coast of the Almouchiquois.

We had spent more than five weeks in going over three degrees of latitude, and our voyage was limited to six, since we had not taken provisions for a longer time. In consequence of fogs and storms, we had not been able to go farther than Mal-lebarre, where we waited several days for fair weather, in order to sail. Finding ourselves accordingly pressed by the scantiness of provisions, *Sieur de Monts* determined to return to the island of *St. Croix*, in order to find another place more favorable for our settlement, as we had not been able to do on any of the coasts which we had explored on this voyage.

Accordingly, on the 25th of July, we set out from this harbor, in order to make observations elsewhere. In going out we came near being lost on the bar at the entrance, from the mistake of our pilots, *Cramolet* and *Champdoré*, masters of the barque, who had imperfectly marked out the entrance of the channel on the southern side, where we were to go. Having

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escaped this danger, we headed north-east for six leagues, until we reached Cap Blanc, sailing on from there to Island Cape, a distance of fifteen leagues, with the same wind. Then we headed east-north-east sixteen leagues, as far as Choüacoet, where we saw the savage chief, Marchin, whom we had expected to see at the Lake Quinibequy. He had the reputation of being one of the valiant ones of his people. He had a fine appearance: all his motions were dignified, savage as he was. *Sieur de Monts* gave him many presents, with which he was greatly pleased: and, in return, Marchin gave him a young Etechemin boy, whom he had captured in war, and whom we took away with us; and thus we set out, mutually good friends. We headed north-east a quarter east for fifteen leagues, as far as Quinibequy, where we arrived on the 29th of the month, and where we were expecting to find a savage, named Sasinou, of whom I spoke before. Thinking that he would come, we waited some time for him, in order to recover from him an Etechemin young man and girl, whom he was holding as prisoners. While waiting there came to us a captain called Anassou, who trafficked a little in furs, and with whom we made an alliance. He told us that there was a ship, ten leagues off the harbor, which was engaged in fishing, and that those on her had killed five savages of this river, under cover of friendship.¹ From his description of the men on the vessel, we concluded that they were English, and we named the island² where they were *La Nef*; for, at a distance, it had the appearance of a ship. Finding that the above-mentioned Sasinou did not come, we headed east-south-east, for twenty leagues, to *Isle Haute*, where we anchored for the night.

On the next day, the 1st of August, we sailed east some twenty leagues to *Cap Corneille*,³ where we spent the night.

¹ Capt. George Waymouth's expedition, which took five Indians to England, not killing them.

² The island of Monhegan.

³ Probably the point of land between *Machias* and *Little Machias* bays.

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On the second of the month, we sailed north-east seven leagues to the mouth of the river St. Croix, on the western shore. Having anchored between the two first islands,¹ Sieur de Monts embarked in a canoe, at a distance of six leagues from the settlement of St. Croix, where we arrived the next day with our barque. We found there Sieur des Antons of St. Malo, who had come in one of the vessels of Sieur de Monts, to bring provisions and also other supplies for those who were to winter in this country.

Chapter 10.

The dwelling-place on the island of St. Croix transferred to Port Royal, and the reason why.

Sieur de Monts determined to change his location, and make another settlement, in order to avoid the severe cold and the bad winter which we had had in the Island of St. Croix. As we had not, up to that time, found any suitable harbor, and, in view of the short time we had for building houses in which to establish ourselves, we fitted out two barques, and loaded them with the framework taken from the houses of St. Croix, in order to transport it to Port Royal,² twenty-five leagues distant, where we thought the climate was much more temperate and agreeable. Pont Gravé and I set out for that place; and, having arrived, we looked for a site favorable for our residence, under shelter from the north-west wind, which we dreaded, having been very much harassed by it.

After searching carefully in all directions, we found no place more suitable and better situated than one slightly elevated, about which there are some marshes and good springs of water. This place is opposite the island at the mouth of the river Equille. To the north of us about a league, there is a range

¹ Campobello and Moose Island.

² At Annapolis Basin.

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of mountains, extending nearly ten leagues in a north-east and south-west direction. The whole country is filled with thick forests, as I mentioned above, except at a point a league and a half up the river, where there are some oaks, although scattering, and many wild vines, which one could easily remove and put the soil under cultivation, notwithstanding it is light and sandy. We had almost resolved to build there; but the consideration that we should have been too far up the harbor and river led us to change our mind.

Recognizing accordingly the site of our habitation as a good one, we began to clear up the ground, which was full of trees, and to erect houses as soon as possible. Each one was busy in this work. After everything had been arranged, and the majority of the dwellings built, *Sieur de Monts* determined to return to France, in order to petition his Majesty to grant him all that might be necessary for his undertaking. He had desired to leave *Sieur d'Orville* to command in this place in his absence. But the climatic malady, *mal de terre*, with which he was afflicted would not allow him to gratify the wish of *Sieur de Monts*. On this account, a conference was held with *Pont Gravé* on the subject, to whom this charge was offered, which he was happy to accept; and he finished what little of the habitation remained to be built. I, at the same time, hoping to have an opportunity to make some new explorations towards Florida, determined to stay there also, of which *Sieur de Monts* approved.

Chapter II.

What took place after the departure of *Sieur de Monts*, until, no tidings of what he had promised being received, we departed from Port Royal to return to France.

As soon as *Sieur de Monts* had departed, a portion of the forty or forty-five who remained began to make gardens. I,

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also, for the sake of occupying my time, made one, which was surrounded with ditches full of water, in which I placed some fine trout, and into which flowed three brooks of very fine running water, from which the greater part of our settlement was supplied. I made also a little sluice-way towards the shore, in order to draw off the water when I wished. This spot was entirely surrounded by meadows, where I constructed a summer-house, with some fine trees, as a resort for enjoying the fresh air. I made there, also, a little reservoir for holding salt-water fish, which we took out as we wanted them. I took especial pleasure in it, and planted there some seeds which turned out well. But much work had to be laid out in preparation. We resorted often to this place as a pastime; and it seemed as if the little birds round about took pleasure in it, for they gathered there in large numbers, warbling and chirping so pleasantly that I think I never heard the like.

The plan of the settlement was ten fathoms long and eight wide, making the distance round thirty-six. On the eastern side is a store-house, occupying the width of it, and a very fine cellar from five to six feet deep. On the northern side are quarters of *Sieur de Monts*, handsomely finished. About the back yard are the dwellings of the workmen. At a corner of the western side is a platform, where four cannon were placed; and at the other corner, towards the east, is a palisade shaped like a platform.

Some days after the buildings were completed, I went to the river *St. John* to find the savage named *Secondon*, the same that conducted *Prevert's* party to the copper-mine, which I had already gone in search of with *Sieur de Monts*, when we were at the *Port of Mines*, though without success. Having found him, I begged him to go there with us, which he very readily consented to do, and proceeded to show it to us. We found there some little pieces of copper of the thickness of a sou, and others still thicker imbedded in grayish and red rocks. The

miner accompanying us, whose name was Master Jacques, a native of Sclavonia, a man very skilful in searching for minerals, made the entire circuit of the hills to see if he could find any gangue,¹ but without success. Yet he found, some steps from where we had taken the pieces of copper before mentioned, something like a mine, which, however, was far from being one. He said that, from the appearance of the soil, it might prove to be good, if it were worked; and that it was not probable that there could be pure copper on the surface of the earth, without there being a large quantity of it underneath. The truth is that, if the water did not cover the mines twice a day, and if they did not lie in such hard rocks, something might be expected from them.

After making this observation, we returned to our settlement, where we found some of our company sick with the mal de terre, but not so seriously as at the Island of St. Croix; although, out of our number of forty-five, twelve died, including the miner, and five were sick, who recovered the following spring. Our surgeon, named Des Champs, from Honfleur, skilful in his profession, opened some of the bodies, to see whether he might be more successful in discovering the cause of the maladies than our surgeons had been the year before. He found the parts of the body affected in the same manner as those opened at the Island of St. Croix, but could discover no means of curing them, any more than the other surgeons.

On the 20th of December, it began to snow, and some ice passed along before our settlement. The winter was not so sharp as the year before, nor the snow so deep, or of so long duration. Among other incidents, the wind was so violent on the 20th of February, 1605,² that it blew over a large number of trees, roots and all, and broke off many others. It was a remarkable sight. The rains were very frequent, which was the cause of

¹ That part of a mineral deposit which has no commercial value.

² It should be 1606.

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the mild winter in comparison with the past one, although it is only twenty-five leagues from Port Royal to St. Croix.

On the first day of March, Pont Gravé ordered a barque of seventeen or eighteen tons to be fitted up, which was ready on the 15th, in order to go on a voyage of discovery along the coast of Florida.¹ With this view, we set out on the 16th following, but were obliged to put in at an island to the south of Manan, having gone that day eighteen leagues. We anchored in a sandy cove, exposed to the sea and the south wind. The latter increased, during the night, to such an impetuosity that we could not stand by our anchor, and were compelled, without choice, to go ashore, at the mercy of God and the waves. The latter were so heavy and furious that while we were attaching the buoy to the anchor, so as to cut at the hawse-hole, it did not give us time, but broke straightway of itself. The wind and the sea cast us, as the wave receded, upon a little rock, and we awaited only the moment to see our barque break up, and to save ourselves, if possible, upon its fragments. In these desperate straits, after we had received several waves, there came one so large and fortunate for us that it carried us over the rock, and threw us on to a little sandy beach, which insured us for this time from shipwreck.

The barque being on shore, we began at once to unload what there was in her, in order to ascertain where the damage was, which was not so great as we expected. She was speedily repaired by the diligence of Champdoré, her master. Having been put in order, she was reloaded; and we waited for fair weather and until the fury of the sea should abate, which was not until the end of four days, namely, the 21st of March, when we set out from this miserable place, and proceeded to Port aux Coquilles,² seven or eight leagues distant. The latter

¹ The coast south of Norumbega.

² The harbor of shells, probably Head Harbor, near the northeastern end of Campobello Island.

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is at the mouth of the river St. Croix, where there was a large quantity of snow. We stayed there until the 29th of the month, in consequence of the fogs and contrary winds, which are usual at this season, when Pont Gravé determined to put back to Port Royal, to see in what condition our companions were, whom we had left there sick. Having arrived there, Pont Gravé was attacked with illness, which delayed us until the 8th of April.

On the 9th of the month he embarked, although still indisposed, from his desire to see the coast of Florida, and in the belief that a change of air would restore his health. The same day we anchored and passed the night at the mouth of the harbor, two leagues distant from our settlement.

The next morning before day, Champdoré came to ask Pont Gravé if he wished to have the anchor raised, who replied in the affirmative, if he deemed the weather favorable for setting out. Upon this, Champdoré had the anchor raised at once, and the sail spread to the wind, which was north-north-east, according to his report. The weather was thick and rainy, and the air full of fog, with indications of foul rather than fair weather.

While going out of the mouth of the harbor,¹ we were suddenly carried by the tide out of the passage, and, before perceiving them, were driven upon the rocks on the east-north-east coast. Pont Gravé and I, who were asleep, were awaked by hearing the sailors shouting and exclaiming, "We are lost!" which brought me quickly to my feet, to see what was the matter. Pont Gravé was still ill, which prevented him from rising as quickly as he wished. I was scarcely on deck, when the barque was thrown upon the coast; and the wind, which was north, drove us upon a point. We unfurled the mainsail, turned it to the wind, and hauled it up as high as we could, that it might drive us up as far as possible on the rocks, for fear that the reflux of the sea, which fortunately was

¹ Annapolis Bay.

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falling, would draw us in, when it would have been impossible to save ourselves. At the first blow of our boat upon the rocks, the rudder broke, a part of the keel and three or four planks were smashed, and some ribs stove in, which frightened us, for our barque filled immediately; and all that we could do was to wait until the sea fell, so that we might get ashore. For, otherwise, we were in danger of our lives, in consequence of the swell, which was very high and furious about us. The sea having fallen, we went on shore amid the storm, when the barque was speedily unloaded, and we saved a large portion of the provisions in her, with the help of the savage, Captain Secondon and his companions, who came to us with their canoes, to carry to our habitation what we had saved from our barque, which, all shattered as she was, went to pieces at the return of the tide. But we, most happy at having saved our lives, returned to our settlement with our poor savages, who stayed there a large part of the winter and we praised God for having rescued us from this shipwreck, from which we had not expected to escape so easily.

The loss of our barque caused us great regret, since we found ourselves, through want of a vessel, deprived of the prospect of being able to accomplish the voyage we had undertaken. And we were unable to build another; for time was pressing, and although there was another barque on the stocks, yet it would have required too long to get it ready, and we could scarcely have made use of it before the return from France of the vessels we were daily expecting.

This was a great misfortune, and owing to the lack of foresight on the part of the master, who was obstinate, but little acquainted with seamanship, and trusting only his own head. He was a good carpenter, skilful in building vessels, and careful in provisioning them with all necessaries, but in no wise adapted to sailing them.

Pont Gravé, having arrived at the settlement, received the

evidence against Champdoré, who was accused of having run the barque on shore with evil intent. Upon such information, he was imprisoned and handcuffed, with the intention of taking him to France and handing him over to *Sieur de Monts*, to be treated as justice might direct.

On the 15th of June, *Pont Gravé*, finding that the vessels did not return from France, had the handcuffs taken off from *Champdoré* that he might finish the barque which was on the stocks, which service he discharged very well.

On the 16th of July, the time when we were to leave, in case the vessels had not returned, as was provided in the commission which *Sieur de Monts* had given to *Pont Gravé*, we set out from our settlement to go to *Cape Breton* or to *Gaspé* in search of means of returning to France, since we had received no intelligence from there.

Two of our men¹ remained, of their accord, to take care of the provisions which were left at the settlement, to each of whom *Pont Gravé* promised fifty crowns in money, and fifty more at which he agreed to estimate their pay when he should come to get them the following year.

There was a captain of the savages named *Mabretou*,² who promised to take care of them, and that they should be treated as kindly as his own children. We found him a friendly savage all the time we were there, although he had the name of being the worst and most traitorous man of his tribe.

Chapter 12.

Departure from *Port Royal* to return to France. Meeting *Ralleau* at *Cape Sable*, which caused us to turn back.

On the 17th of the month, in accordance with the resolution we had formed, we set out from the mouth of *Port Royal* with two barques, one of eighteen tons, the other of seven or eight,

¹ Their names, according to *Lescarbot*, were *La Taille* and *Miquelet*.

² *Lescarbot* and *Father Biard* (*Jes. Rels.*) call him *Membertou*.

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with the view of pursuing the voyage to Cape Breton or Canseau. We had anchored in the strait of Long Island, where during the night our cable broke, and we came near being lost, owing to the violent tides which strike upon several rocky points in and about this place. But, through the diligent exertions of all, we were saved, and escaped once more.

On the 21st of the month there was a violent wind, which broke the irons of our rudder between Long Island and Cape Fourchu, and reduced us to such extremities that we were at a loss what to do. For the fury of the sea did not permit us to land, since the breakers ran mountain high along the coast, so that we resolved to perish in the sea rather than to land, hoping that the wind and tempest would abate, so that, with the wind astern, we might go ashore on some sandy beach. As each one thought by himself what might be done for our preservation, a sailor said that a quantity of cordage attached to the stern of our barque, and dragging in the water, might serve in some measure to steer our vessel. But this was of no avail; and we saw that, unless God should aid us by other means, this would not preserve us from shipwreck. As we were thinking what could be done for our safety, Champdoré, who had been again handcuffed, said to some of us that, if Pont Gravé desired it, he would find means to steer our barque. This we reported to Pont Gravé, who did not refuse this offer, and the rest of us still less. He accordingly had his handcuffs taken off the second time, and at once taking a rope, he cut it and fastened the rudder with it in such a skilful manner that it would steer the ship as well as ever. In this way, he made amends for the mistakes he had made leading to the loss of the previous barque, and was discharged from his accusation through our entreaties to Pont Gravé who, although somewhat reluctantly, acceded to it.

The same day we anchored near La Baye Courante,¹ two

¹ At the mouth of Argyll River, sometimes called Lobster Bay.

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leagues from Cape Fourchu, and there our barque was repaired.

On the 23d of July, we proceeded near to Cape Sable.

On the 24th of the month, at two o'clock in the afternoon, we perceived a shallop, near Cormorant Island, coming from Cape Sable. Some thought it was savages going away from Cape Breton or the Island of Canseau. Others said it might be shallops sent from Canseau to get news of us. Finally, as we approached nearer, we saw that they were Frenchmen, which delighted us greatly. When it had almost reached us, we recognized Ralleau, the secretary of *Sieur de Monts*, which redoubled our joy. He informed us that *Sieur de Monts* had despatched a vessel of a hundred and twenty tons, commanded by *Sieur de Poutrincourt*, who had come with fifty men to act as *Lieutenant-General*, and live in the country; that he had landed at Canseau, whence the above mentioned vessel had gone out to sea, in order, if possible, to find us, while he, meanwhile, was proceeding along the coast in a shallop, in order to meet us in case we should have set out, supposing we had departed from Port Royal, as was in fact the case: in so doing, they acted very wisely. All this intelligence caused us to turn back; and we arrived at Port Royal on the 25th of the month, where we found the above-mentioned vessel and *Sieur de Poutrincourt*, and were greatly delighted to see realized what we had given up in despair. He told us that his delay had been caused by an accident which happened to the ship in leaving the boom at Rochelle, where he had taken his departure, and that he had been hindered by bad weather on his voyage.

The next day, *Sieur de Poutrincourt* proceeded to set forth his views as to what should be done; and, in accordance with the opinion of all, he resolved to stay at Port Royal this year, inasmuch as no discovery had been made since the departure of *Sieur de Monts*, and the period of four months before winter

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was not long enough to search out a site and construct another settlement, especially in a large vessel, unlike a barque which draws little water, searches everywhere, and finds places to one's mind for effecting settlements. But he decided that, during this period, nothing more should be done than to try to find some place better adapted for our abode.

Thus deciding, *Sieur de Poutrincourt* despatched at once some laborers to work on the land in a spot which he deemed suitable, up the river, a league and a half from the settlement of *Port Royal*, and where we had thought of making our abode.¹ Here he ordered wheat, rye, hemp, and several other kinds of seeds to be sown, in order to ascertain how they would flourish.

On the 22d of August, a small barque was seen approaching our settlement. It was that of *Des Antons*, of *St. Malo*, who had come from *Canseau*, where his vessel was engaged in fishing, to inform us that there were some vessels about *Cape Breton* engaged in the fur-trade; and that, if we would send our ship, we might capture them on the point of returning to France. It was determined to do so as soon as some supplies, which were in the ship, could be unloaded.

This being done, *Pont Gravé* embarked, together with his companions, who had wintered with him at *Port Royal*, excepting *Champdoré* and *Foulgeré de Vitré*. I also stayed with *De Poutrincourt*, in order, with God's help, to complete the map of the coasts and countries which I had commenced. Every thing being put in order in the settlement, *Sieur de Poutrincourt* ordered provisions to be taken on board for our voyage along the coast of Florida.

On the 29th of August, we set out from *Port Royal*, as did also *Pont Gravé* and *Des Antons*, who were bound for *Cape Breton* and *Canseau*, to seize the vessels which were engaging in the fur-trade, as I have before stated. After getting out to

¹ Where the present village of *Annapolis* stands.

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sea, we were obliged to put back on account of bad weather. But the large vessel kept on her course, and we soon lost sight of her.

Chapter 13.

Sieur de Poutrincourt sets out from Port Royal to make discoveries. All that was seen and what took place as far as Mallebarre.

On the 5th of September, we set out again from Port Royal. On the 7th, we reached the mouth of the river St. Croix, where we found a large number of savages, among others Secondon and Messamouet. We came near being lost there on a rocky islet, on account of Champdoré's usual obstinacy.

The next day we proceeded in a shallop to the Island of St. Croix, where Sieur de Monts had wintered, to see if we could find any spikes of wheat and other seeds which we had planted there. We found some wheat which had fallen on the ground, and come up as finely as one could wish; also a large number of garden vegetables, which also had come up fair and large. It gave us great satisfaction to see that the soil there was good and fertile.

After visiting the island, we returned to our barque, which was one of eighteen tons, on the way catching a large number of mackerel, which are abundant there at this season. It was decided to continue the voyage along the coast, which was not a very well-considered conclusion, since we lost much time in passing over again the discoveries made by Sieur de Monts as far as the harbor of Mallebarre. It would have been much better, in my opinion, to cross from where we were directly to Mallebarre, the route being already known, and then use our time in exploring as far as the fortieth degree, or still farther south, revisiting, upon our homeward voyage, the entire coast at pleasure.

After this decision, we took with us Secondon and Messamouet, who went as far as Choüacoet in a shallop, where they

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wished to make an alliance with the people of the country, by offering them some presents.

On the 12th of September, we set out from the river St. Croix.

On the 21st, we arrived at Choüacoet, where we saw Onemechin, chief of the river, and Marchin, who had harvested their corn. We saw at the Island of Bacchus¹ some grapes which were ripe and very good, and some others not yet ripe, as fine as those in France; and I am sure that, if they were cultivated, they would produce good wine.

In this place, Sieur de Poutrincourt secured a prisoner that Onemechin had, to whom Messamouet made presents of kettles, hatchets, knives, and other things. Onemechin reciprocated the same with Indian corn, squashes, and Brazilian beans; which was not very satisfactory to Messamouet, who went away very ill-disposed towards them for not properly recognizing his presents, and with the intention of making war upon them in a short time. For these nations give only in exchange for something in return, except to those who have done them a special service, as by assisting them in their wars.

Continuing our course, we proceeded to the Island Cape,² where we encountered rather bad weather and fogs, and saw little prospect of being able to spend the night under shelter, since the locality was not favorable for this. While we were thus in perplexity, it occurred to me that, while coasting along with Sieur de Monts, I had noted on my map, at a distance of a league from here, a place which seemed suitable for vessels,³ but which we did not enter, because, when we passed it, the wind was favorable for continuing on our course. This place we had already passed, which led me to suggest to Sieur de Poutrincourt that we should stand in for a point in sight,

¹ Richmond Island.

² Cape Ann.

³ Gloucester Harbor.

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where the place in question was, which seemed to me favorable for passing the night. We proceeded to anchor at the mouth, and went in the next day.

Sieur de Poutrincourt landed with eight or ten of our company. We saw some very fine grapes just ripe, Brazilian peas,¹ pumpkins, squashes, and very good roots,² which the savages cultivate, having a taste similar to that of chards. They made us presents of some of these, in exchange for little trifles which we gave them. They had already finished their harvest. We saw two hundred savages in this very pleasant place; and there are here a large number of very fine walnut-trees, cypresses, sassafras, oaks, ash, and beeches. The chief of this place is named Quiouhamenec, who came to see us with a neighbor of his, named Cohöüepech, whom we entertained sumptuously. Onemechin, chief of Choüacoet, came also to see us, to whom we gave a coat, which he, however, did not keep a long time, but made a present of it to another, since he was uneasy in it, and could not adapt himself to it. We saw also a savage here, who had so wounded himself in the foot, and lost so much blood, that he fell down in a swoon. Many others surrounded him, and sang some time before touching him. Afterwards, they made some motions with their feet and hands, shook his head and breathed upon him, when he came to himself. Our surgeon dressed his wounds, when he went off in good spirits.

The next day, as we were calking our shallop, Sieur de Poutrincourt in the woods noticed a number of savages who were going, with the intention of doing us some mischief, to a little stream, where a neck connects with the main land, at which our party were doing their washing. As I was walking along this neck, these savages noticed me; and, in order to put

¹ Probably beans should be the word.

² Jerusalem artichokes. Chards are the middle stalks of white beets and artichokes.

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a good face upon it, since they saw that I had discovered them thus seasonably, they began to shout and dance, and then came towards me with their bows, arrows, quivers, and other arms. And, inasmuch as there was a meadow between them and myself, I made a sign to them to dance again. This they did in a circle, putting all their arms in the middle. But they had hardly commenced, when they observed *Sieur de Poutrincourt* in the wood with eight musketeers, which frightened them. Yet they did not stop until they had finished their dance, when they withdrew in all directions, fearing lest some unpleasant turn might be served them. We said nothing to them, however, and showed them only demonstrations of gladness. Then we returned to launch our shallop, and take our departure. They entreated us to wait a day, saying that more than two thousand of them would come to see us. But, unable to lose any time, we were unwilling to stay here longer. I am of opinion that their object was to surprise us. Some of the land was already cleared up, and they were constantly making clearings. Their mode of doing it is as follows: after cutting down the trees at the distance of three feet from the ground, they burn the branches upon the trunk, and then plant their corn between these stumps, in course of time tearing up also the roots. There are likewise fine meadows here, capable of supporting a large number of cattle. This harbor is very fine, containing water enough for vessels, and affording a shelter from the weather behind the islands. It is in latitude 43 degrees, and we gave it the name of *Le Beauport*.

The last day of September we set out from *Beauport*, and, passing *Cap St. Louis*, stood on our course all night for *Cap Blanc*. In the morning, an hour before daylight, we found ourselves to the leeward of *Cap Blanc*, in *Baye Blanche*, with eight feet of water, and at a distance of a league from the shore. Here we anchored, in order not to approach too near before daylight, and to see how the tide was. Meanwhile, we

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sent our shallop to make soundings. Only eight feet of water were found, so that it was necessary to determine before daylight what we would do. The water sank as low as five feet, and our barque sometimes touched on the sand, yet without any injury, for the water was calm, and we had not less than three feet of water under us. Then the tide began to rise, which gave us encouragement.

When it was day, we saw a very low, sandy shore, off which we were, and more to the leeward. A shallop was sent to make soundings in the direction of land somewhat high, where we thought there would be deep water; and, in fact, we found seven fathoms. Here we anchored, and at once got ready the shallop, with nine or ten men to land and examine a place where we thought there was a good harbor to shelter ourselves in, if the wind should increase. An examination having been made, we entered in two, three, and four fathoms of water. When we were inside, we found five and six. There were many very good oysters here, which we had not seen before, and we named the place *Port aux Huistres*.¹ It is in latitude 42 degrees. Three canoes of savages came out to us. On this day, the wind coming round in our favor, we weighed anchor to go to *Cap Blanc*, distant from here five leagues north a quarter north-east, and we doubled the cape.

On the next day, the 2d of October, we arrived off *Mallebarre*, where we stayed some time on account of the bad weather. During this time, *Sieur de Poutrincourt*, with the shallop, accompanied by twelve or fifteen men, visited the harbor, where some hundred and fifty savages, singing and dancing according to their custom, appeared before him. After seeing this place, we returned to our vessel, and, the wind coming favorable, sailed along the coast towards the south.

¹ Barnstable Harbor.

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Chapter 14.

Continuation of the above discoveries, and what was observed of particular importance.

When we were some six leagues from Mallebarre, we anchored near the coast, the wind not being fair, along which we observed columns of smoke made by the savages, which led us to determine to go to them, for which purpose the shallop was made ready. But when near the coast, which is sandy, we could not land, for the swell was too great. Seeing this, the savages launched a canoe, and came out to us, eight or nine of them, singing and making signs of their joy at seeing us, and they indicated to us that lower down there was a harbor where we could put our barque in a place of security. Unable to land, the shallop came back to the barque; and the savages, whom we had treated civilly, returned to the shore.

On the next day, the wind being favorable, we continued our course to the north¹ five leagues, and hardly had we gone this distance, when we found three and four fathoms of water at a distance of a league and a half from the shore. On going a little farther, the depth suddenly diminished to a fathom and a half and two fathoms, which alarmed us, since we saw the sea breaking all around, but no passage by which we could retrace our course, for the wind was directly contrary.

Accordingly being shut in among the breakers and sand-banks, we had to go at hap-hazard where there seemed to be the most water for our barque, which was at most only four feet: we continued among these breakers until we found as much as four feet and a half. Finally, we succeeded, by the grace of God, in going over a sandy point running out nearly three leagues seaward to the south-south-east, and a very dangerous place. Doubling this cape, which we named Cap Batturier,² which is twelve or thirteen leagues from Malle-

¹ They were sailing south. ² Apparently Monomoy Point, at the south-eastern extremity of the Cape Cod peninsula.

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barre, we anchored in two and a half fathoms of water, since we saw ourselves surrounded on all sides by breakers and shoals, except in some places where the sea was breaking but little. The shallop was sent to find a channel, in order to go to a place, which we concluded to be that which the savages had indicated. We also thought there was a river there, where we could lie in security.

When our shallop arrived there, our party landed and examined the place, and, returning with a savage whom they brought off, they told us that we could enter at full tide, which was resolved upon. We immediately weighed anchor, and, under the guidance of the savage who piloted us, proceeded to anchor at a roadstead before the harbor, in six fathoms of water and a good bottom; for we could not enter, as the night overtook us.

On the next day, men were sent to set stakes at the end of a sand-bank at the mouth of the harbor, when, the tide, rising, we entered in two fathoms of water. When we had arrived, we praised God for being in a place of safety. Our rudder had broken, which we had mended with ropes; but we were afraid that, amid these shallows and strong tides, it would break anew, and we should be lost. Within this harbor¹ there is only a fathom of water, and two at full tide. On the east, there is a bay extending back on the north some three leagues, in which there is an island and two other little bays which adorn the landscape, where there is a considerable quantity of land cleared up, and many little hills, where they cultivate corn and the various grains on which they live. There are, also, very fine vines, many walnut-trees, oaks, cypresses, but only a few pines. All the inhabitants of this place are very fond of agriculture, and provide themselves with Indian corn for the winter, which they store in the following manner:

¹ Stage Harbor, in Chatham township, to which Champlain soon afterwards gave the name Port Fortuné.

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They make trenches in the sand on the slope of the hills, some five to six feet deep, more or less. Putting their corn and other grains into large grass sacks, they throw them into these trenches, and cover them with sand three or four feet above the surface of the earth, taking it out as their needs require. In this way, it is preserved as well as it would be possible to do in our granaries.

We saw in this place some five to six hundred savages, all naked except their sexual parts, which they cover with a small piece of doe or seal-skin. The women are also naked, and, like the men, cover theirs with skins or leaves. They wear their hair carefully combed and twisted in various ways, both men and women, after the manner of the savages of Choüacoet. Their bodies are well-proportioned, and their skin olive-colored. They adorn themselves with feathers, beads of shell, and other gewgaws, which they arrange very neatly in embroidery work. As weapons, they have bows, and clubs. They are not so much great hunters as good fishermen and tillers of the land.

In regard to their police, government, and belief, we have been unable to form a judgment; but I suppose that they are not different in this respect from our savages, the Souriquois and Canadians, who worship neither the moon nor the sun, nor any thing else, and pray no more than the beasts. There are, however, among them some persons who, as they say, are in concert with the devil, in whom they have great faith. They tell them all that is to happen to them, but in so doing lie for the most part. Sometimes they succeed in hitting the mark very well, and tell them things similar to those which actually happen to them. For this reason, they have faith in them, as if they were prophets; while they are only impostors who delude them, as the Egyptians and Bohemians (*i.e., the Gypsies*) do the simple villagers. They have chiefs, whom they obey in matters of war, but not otherwise, and who engage in labor

and hold no higher rank than their companions. Each one has only so much land as he needs for his support.

Their dwellings are separate from each other, according to the land which each one occupies. They are large, of a circular shape, and covered with thatch made of grasses or the husks of Indian corn. They are furnished only with a bed or two, raised a foot from the ground, made of a number of little pieces of wood pressed against each other, on which they arrange a reed mat, after the Spanish style, which is a kind of matting two or three fingers thick: on these they sleep. They have a great many fleas in summer, even in the fields. One day as we went out walking, we were beset by so many of them that we were obliged to change our clothes.

All the harbors, bays, and coasts from Choüacoet are filled with every variety of fish, like those which we have before our habitation, and in such abundance that I can confidently assert that there was not a day or night when we did not see and hear pass by our barque more than a thousand porpoises, which were chasing the smaller fry. There are also many shell-fish of various sorts, principally oysters. Game birds are very plenty.

It would be an excellent place to erect buildings and lay the foundations of a state, if the harbor were somewhat deeper and the entrance safer. Before leaving the harbor, the rudder was repaired; and we had some bread made from flour, which we had brought for our subsistence, in case our biscuit should give out. Meanwhile, we sent the shallop with five or six men and a savage to see whether a passage might be found more favorable for our departure than that by which we had entered.

After they had gone five or six leagues and were near the land, the savage made his escape, since he was afraid of being taken to other savages farther south, the enemies of his tribe, as he gave those to understand who were in the shallop. The

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latter, upon their return, reported that, as far as they had advanced, there were at least three fathoms of water, and that farther on there were neither shallows nor reefs.

We accordingly made haste to repair our barque, and make a supply of bread for fifteen days. Meanwhile, *Sieur de Poutrincourt*, accompanied by ten or twelve arquebusiers, visited all the neighboring country, which is very fine, as I have said before, and where we saw here and there a large number of little houses.

Some eight or nine days after, while *Sieur de Poutrincourt* was walking out, as he had previously done, we observed the savages taking down their cabins and sending their women, children, provisions, and other necessaries of life into the woods. This made us suspect some evil intention, and that they purposed to attack those of our company who were working on shore, where they stayed at night in order to guard that which could not be embarked at evening except with much trouble. This proved to be true; for they determined among themselves, after all their effects had been put in a place of security, to come and surprise those on land, taking advantage of them as much as possible, and to carry off all they had. But, if by chance they should find them on their guard, they resolved to come with signs of friendship, as they were wont to do, leaving behind their bows and arrows.

Now, in view of what *Sieur de Poutrincourt* had seen, and the order which it had been told him they observed when they wished to play some bad trick, when we passed by some cabins, where there was a large number of women, we gave them some bracelets and rings to keep them quiet and free from fear, and to most of the old and distinguished men hatchets, knives, and other things which they desired.

This pleased them greatly, and they repaid it all in dances, gambols, and harangues, which we did not understand at all. We went wherever we chose without their having the assurance

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to say anything to us. It pleased us greatly to see them show themselves so simple in appearance.

We returned very quietly to our barque, accompanied by some of the savages. On the way, we met several small troops of them, who gradually gathered together with their arms, and did not suppose that we had just made a circuit of nearly four or five leagues about their territory. Passing near us, they trembled with fear, lest harm should be done them, as it was in our power to do. But we did them none, although we knew their evil intentions. Having arrived where our men were working, *Sieur de Poutrincourt* inquired if everything was in readiness to resist the designs of this rabble.

He ordered everything on shore to be embarked. This was done, except that he who was making the bread stayed to finish a baking, and two others with him. They were told that the savages had some evil intent, and that they should make haste to embark the coming evening, since they carried their plans into execution only at night, or at daybreak, which in their plots is generally the hour for making a surprise.

Evening having come, *Sieur de Poutrincourt* gave orders that the shallop should be sent ashore to get the men who remained. This was done as soon as the tide would permit, and those on shore were told that they must embark for the reason assigned. This they refused in spite of the remonstrances that were made, setting forth the risks they ran and the disobedience to their chief. They paid no attention to it, with the exception of a servant of *Sieur de Poutrincourt*, who embarked. Two others disembarked from the shallop and went to the three on shore, who had stayed to eat some cakes made at the same time with the bread.

But, as they were unwilling to do as they were told, the shallop returned to the vessel. It was not mentioned to *Sieur de Poutrincourt*, who had retired, thinking that all were on board.

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The next day, in the morning, the 15th of October, the savages did not fail to come and see in what condition our men were, whom they found asleep, except one, who was near the fire. When they saw them in this condition, they came, to the number of four hundred, softly over a little hill, and sent them such a volley of arrows, that to rise up was death. Fleeing the best they could towards our barque, shouting, "Help! they are killing us!" a part fell dead in the water; the others were all pierced with arrows, and one died in consequence a short time after. The savages made a desperate noise with roarings, which it was terrible to hear.

Upon the occurrence of this noise and that of our men, the sentinel, on our vessel, exclaimed, "To arms! They are killing our men." Consequently, each one immediately seized his arms; and we embarked in the shallop, some fifteen or sixteen of us, in order to go ashore. But, being unable to get there on account of a sand-bank between us and the land, we threw ourselves into the water, and waded from this bank to the shore, the distance of a musket-shot. As soon as we were there, the savages, seeing us within arrow range, fled into the interior. To pursue them was fruitless, for they are marvelously swift. All that we could do was to carry away the dead bodies and bury them near a cross, which had been set up the day before, and then to go here and there to see if we could get sight of any of them. But it was time wasted, therefore we came back. Three hours afterwards, they returned to us on the sea-shore. We discharged at them several shots from our little brass cannon; and, when they heard the noise, they crouched down on the ground to avoid the fire. In mockery of us, they beat down the cross and disinterred the dead, which displeased us greatly, and caused us to go for them a second time; but they fled, as they had done before. We set up again the cross, and reinterred the dead, whom they had thrown here and there amid the heath, where they kindled a

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fire to burn them. We returned without any result, as we had done before, well aware that there was scarcely hope of avenging ourselves this time, and that we should have to renew the undertaking when it should please God.

On the 16th of the month, we set out from Port Fortuné, to which we had given this name on account of the misfortune which had happened to us there. This place is in latitude 41 degrees 20', and some twelve or thirteen leagues from Mallebarre.

Chapter 15.

The inclemency of the weather not permitting us at that time to continue our discoveries, we resolved to return to our settlement. What happened to us until we reached it.

After having gone some six or seven leagues, we sighted an island, which we named La Soupçonneuse,¹ because in the distance we had several times thought it was not an island. Then the wind became contrary, which caused us to put back to the place whence we had set out, where we stayed two or three days, no savage during this time presenting himself to us.

On the 20th, we set out anew, and coasted along to the south-west nearly twelve leagues, where we passed near a river which is small and difficult of access in consequence of the shoals and rocks at its mouth, and which I called after my own name. This coast is, so far as we saw, low and sandy. The wind again grew contrary and very strong, which caused us to put out to sea, as we were unable to advance on one tack or the other; it, however, finally abated a little and grew favorable. But all we could do was to return again to Port Fortuné, where the coast, though low, is fine and good, yet difficult of access, there being no harbors, many reefs, and shallow water

¹ "The Doubtful," probably Martha's Vineyard. The river mentioned below, which the explorer named after himself, is probably the tidal passage at Wood's Hole connecting Vineyard Sound and Buzzard's Bay. These points were therefore the southern limits of this tour of exploration.

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for the distance of nearly two leagues from land. The most that we found was seven or eight fathoms in some channels, which, however, continued only a cable's length, when there were suddenly only two or three fathoms; but one should not trust the water who has not well examined the depth with the lead in hand.

Some hours after we had returned to port, a son of Pont Gravé, named Robert, lost a hand in firing a musket, which burst in several pieces, but without injuring any one near him.

Seeing now the wind continuing contrary, and being unable to put to sea, we resolved meanwhile to get possession of some savages of this place, and, taking them to our settlement, put them to grinding corn at the hand-mill, as punishment for the deadly assault which they had committed on five or six of our company. But it was very difficult to do this when we were armed, since, if we went to them prepared to fight, they would turn and flee into the woods, where they were not to be caught. It was necessary, accordingly, to have recourse to artifice, and this is what we planned: when they should come to seek friendship with us, to coax them by showing them beads and other gewgaws, and assure them repeatedly of our good faith; then to take the shallop well armed, and conduct on shore the most robust and strong men we had, each one having a chain of beads and a fathom of match¹ on his arm; and there, while pretending to smoke with them (each one having an end of his match lighted so as not to excite suspicion, it being customary to have fire at the end of a cord in order to light the tobacco), coax them with pleasing words so as to draw them into the shallop; and, if they should be unwilling to enter, each one approaching should at the same time put the rope on him to draw him by force. But, if they should be too boisterous, and it should not be possible to succeed, they should be stabbed, the rope being firmly held; and, if by chance any of them

¹ Match, a tow rope to hold fire, for use with the match-lock musket.

should get away, there should be men on land to charge upon them with swords. Meanwhile, the little cannon on our barque was to be kept ready to fire upon their companions in case they should come to assist them, under cover of which firearms the shallop could withdraw in security. The plan above-mentioned was well carried out as had been arranged.

Some days after these events had occurred, there came savages by threes and fours to the shore, making signs to us to go to them. But we saw their main body in ambuscade under a hillock behind some bushes, and I suppose that they were only desirous of beguiling us into the shallop in order to discharge a shower of arrows upon us, and then to take to flight. Nevertheless, *Sieur de Poutrincourt* did not hesitate to go to them with ten of us, well equipped and determined to fight them, if occasion offered. We landed at a place beyond their ambuscade, as we thought, and where they could not surprise us. There three or four of us went ashore together with *Sieur de Poutrincourt*; the others did not leave the shallop, in order to protect it and be ready for an emergency. We ascended a knoll and went about the woods to see if we could not discover more plainly the ambuscade. When they saw us going so unconcernedly to them, they left and went to other places, which we could not see, and of the four savages we saw only two, who went away very slowly. As they withdrew, they made signs to us to take our shallop to another place, thinking that it was not favorable for the carrying out of their plan. And, when we saw that they had no desire to come to us, we re-embarked and went to the place they indicated, which was the second ambuscade they had made, in their endeavor to draw us unarmed to themselves by signs of friendship. But this we were not permitted to do at that time, yet we approached very near them without seeing this ambuscade, which we supposed was not far off. As our shallop approached the shore, they took to flight, as also those in ambush, after

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whom we fired some musket-shots, since we saw that their intention was only to deceive us by flattery, in which they were disappointed; for we recognized clearly what their purpose was, which had only mischief in view.¹ We retired to our barque after having done all we could.

On the same day, *Sieur de Poutrincourt* resolved to return to our settlement on account of four or five sick and wounded men, whose wounds were growing worse through lack of salves, of which our surgeon, by a great mistake on his part, had brought but a small provision, to the detriment of the sick and our own discomfort, as the stench from their wounds was so great, in a little vessel like our own, that one could scarcely endure it. Moreover, we were afraid that they would generate disease. Also we had provisions only for going eight or ten days farther, however much economy might be practised; and we knew not whether the return would last as long as the advance, which was nearly two months.

At any rate, our resolution being formed, we withdrew, but with the satisfaction that God had not left unpunished the misdeeds of these barbarians. We advanced no farther than to latitude 41 degrees 30', which was only half a degree farther than *Sieur de Monts* had gone on his voyage of discovery. We set out accordingly from this harbor.

On the next day we anchored near *Mallebarre*, where we remained until the 28th of the month, when we set sail. On that day the air was very cold, and there was a little snow. We took a direct course for *Norumbegue* or *Isle Haute*. Heading east-north-east, we were two days at sea without seeing land, being kept back by bad weather. On the following night, we sighted the islands, which are between *Quinibeque* and *Norumbegue*. The wind was so strong that we were obliged to put to sea until daybreak; but we went so far from land, although we

¹ This was the *Nauset* tribe of Indians, who were the first to show hostility to the Pilgrims.

used very little sail, that we could not see it again until the next day, when we saw *Isle Haute*, of which we were abreast.

On the last day of October, between the *Island of Monts Déserts* and *Cap Corneille*, our rudder broke in several pieces, without our knowing the reason. Each one expressed his opinion about it. On the following night, with a fresh breeze, we came among a large number of islands and rocks, whither the wind drove us; and we resolved to take refuge, if possible, on the first land we should find.

We were for some time at the mercy of the wind and sea, with only the foresail set. But the worst of it was that the night was dark, and we did not know where we were going; for our barque could not be steered at all, although we did all that was possible, holding in our hands the sheets of the foresail, which sometimes enabled us to steer it a little. We kept continually sounding, to see if it were possible to find a bottom for anchoring, and to prepare ourselves for what might happen. But we found none. Finally, as we were going faster than we wished, it was recommended to put an oar astern together with some men, so as to steer to an island which we saw, in order to shelter ourselves from the wind. Two other oars also were put over the sides in the after part of the barque, to assist those who were steering, in order to make the vessel bear up on one tack and the other. This device served us so well, that we headed where we wished, and ran in behind the point of the island we had seen, anchoring in twenty-one fathoms of water until daybreak, when we proposed to reconnoitre our position and seek for a place to make another rudder. The wind abated. At daybreak, we found ourselves near the *Isles Rangées*,¹ entirely surrounded by breakers, and we praised God for having preserved us so wonderfully amid so many perils.

On the 1st of November, we went to a place which we deemed favorable for beaching our vessel and repairing our

¹ Small islands southwest of *Machias*.

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helm. On this day, I landed, and saw some ice two inches thick, it having frozen perhaps eight or ten days before. I observed also that the temperature of the place differed very much from that of Mallebarre and Port Fortuné, for the leaves of the trees were not yet dead and had not begun to fall when we set out, while here they had fallen, and it was much colder than at Port Fortuné.

On the next day, as we were beaching our barque, a canoe came containing Etechemin savages, who told the savage Secondon in our barque that Iouaniscou, with his companions, had killed some other savages, and carried off some women as prisoners, whom they had executed near the Island of Monts Déserts.

On the 9th of the month, we set out from near Cap Corneille, and anchored the same day in the little passage of Sainte Croix River.

On the morning of the next day, we landed our savage with some supplies which we gave him. He was well pleased and satisfied at having made this voyage with us, and took away with him some heads of the savages that had been killed at Port Fortuné. The same day we anchored in a very pretty cove on the south of the Island of Manan.

On the 12th of the month, we made sail; and, when under way, the shallop, which we were towing astern, struck against our barque so violently and roughly that it made an opening and stove in her upper works, and again in the recoil broke the iron fastenings of our rudder. At first, we thought that the first blow had stove in some planks in the lower part, which would have sunk us; for the wind was so high that all we could do was to carry our foresail. But finding that the damage was slight, and that there was no danger, we managed with ropes to repair the rudder as well as we could, so as to serve us to the end of our voyage. This was not until the 14th of November, when, at the entrance to Port Royal, we

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came near being lost on a point; but God delivered us from this danger as well as from many others to which we had been exposed.

Chapter 16.

Return from the foregoing discoveries, and what transpired during the winter.

Upon our arrival, Lescarbot, who had remained at the settlement, assisted by the others who had stayed there, welcomed us with a humorous entertainment.¹

Having landed and had time to take breath, each one began to make little gardens, I among the rest attending to mine, in order in the spring to sow several kinds of seeds which had been brought from France, and which grew very well in all the gardens.

Sieur de Poutrincourt, moreover, had a water-mill built nearly a league and a half from our settlement, near the point where grain had been planted. This mill was built at a fall, on a little river² which is not navigable on account of the large number of rocks in it, and which falls into a small lake. In this place, there is such an abundance of herring in their season that shallops could be loaded with them if one were to take the trouble to bring the requisite apparatus. The savages also of this region come here sometimes to fish. A quantity of charcoal was made by us for our forge. During the winter, in order not to remain idle, I undertook the building of a road along the wood to a little river or brook, which we named *La Truitière*, there being many trout there. I asked Sieur de Poutrincourt for two or three men, which he gave me to assist in making this passageway. I got along so well that in a little while I had the road through. It extends through to the trout brook, and measures nearly two thousand paces. It served us

¹ A poetic drama called "*Le Théâtre de Neptune*," which Lescarbot published in "*Les Muses de la Nouvelle France*."

² Now Allen River.

as a walk under the shelter of the trees, which I had left on both sides. This led *Sieur de Poutrincourt* to determine to make another through the woods, in order that we might go straight to the mouth of *Port Royal*, it being a distance of nearly three leagues and a half by land from our settlement. He had this commenced and continued for about half a league from *La Truitière*; but he did not finish it, as the undertaking was too laborious, and he was occupied by other things at the time more necessary. Some time after our arrival, we saw a shallop containing savages, who told us that a savage, who was one of our friends, had been killed by those belonging to the place whence they came, which was *Norumbegue*, in revenge for the killing of the men of *Norumbegue* and *Quinibequy* by *Iouaniscou*, also a savage, and his followers, as I have before related; and that some *Etechemins* had informed the savage *Secondon*, who was with us at that time.

The commander of the shallop was the savage named *Ouagimou*, who was on terms of friendship with *Bessabez*, chief of the river *Norumbegue*, of whom he asked the body of *Panounias*, who had been killed. The latter granted it to him, begging him to tell his friends that he was very sorry for his death, and assuring him that it was without his knowledge that he had been killed, and that, inasmuch as it was not his fault, he begged him to tell them that he desired they might continue to live as friends. This *Ouagimou* promised to do upon his return. He said to us that he was very uneasy until he got away from them, whatever friendship they might show him, since they were liable to change; and he feared that they would treat him in the same manner as they had the one who had been killed. Accordingly, he did not tarry long after being dismissed. He took the body in his shallop from *Norumbegue* to our settlement, a distance of fifty leagues.

As soon as the body was brought on shore, his relatives and friends began to shout by his side, having painted their entire

face with black, which is their mode of mourning. After lamenting much, they took a quantity of tobacco and two or three dogs and other things belonging to the deceased, and burned them some thousand paces from our settlement on the sea-shore. Their cries continued until they returned to their cabin.

The next day they took the body of the deceased and wrapped it in a red covering, which Mabretou, chief of this place, urgently implored me to give him, since it was handsome and large. He gave it to the relatives of the deceased, who thanked me very much for it. After thus wrapping up the body, they decorated it with several kinds of *matachiats*; that is, strings of beads and bracelets of diverse colors. They painted the face, and put on the head many feathers and other things, the finest they had. Then they placed the body on its knees between two sticks, with another under the arms to sustain it. Around the body were the mother, wife, and others of the relatives and friends of the deceased, both women and girls, howling like dogs.

While the women and girls were shrieking, the savage named Mabretou made an address to his companions on the death of the deceased, urging all to take vengeance for the wickedness and treachery committed by the subjects of Bessabez, and to make war upon them as speedily as possible. All agreed to do so in the spring.

After the harangue was finished and the cries had ceased, they carried the body of the deceased to another cabin. After smoking tobacco together, they wrapped it in an elk-skin likewise; and, binding it very securely, they kept it until there should be a larger number of savages present, from each one of whom the brother of the deceased expected to receive presents, it being their custom to give them to those who have lost fathers, wives, brothers, or sisters.

On the night of the 26th of December, there was a south-

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east wind, which blew down several trees. On the last day of December, it began to snow, which continued until the morning of the next day. On the 16th of January following, 1607, Sieur de Poutrincourt, desiring to ascend the river Équille, found it at a distance of some two leagues from our settlement sealed with ice, which caused him to return, not being able to advance any farther. On the 8th of February, some pieces of ice began to flow down from the upper part of the river into the harbor, which only freezes along the shore. On the 10th of May following, it snowed all night; and, towards the end of the month, there were heavy hoar-frosts, which lasted until the 10th or 12th of June, when all the trees were covered with leaves, except the oaks, which do not leaf out until about the 15th. The winter was not so severe as on the preceding years, nor did the snow continue so long on the ground. It rained very often, so that the savages suffered a severe famine, owing to the small quantity of snow. Sieur de Poutrincourt supported a part of them who were with us; namely, Mabretou, his wife and children, and some others.

We spent this winter very pleasantly, and fared generously by means of the ORDRE DE BON TEMPS, which I introduced. This all found useful for their health, and more advantageous than all the medicines that we could have used. By the rules of the order, a chain was put, with some little ceremonies, on the neck of one of our company, commissioning him for the day to go a hunting. The next day it was conferred upon another, and thus in succession. All exerted themselves to the utmost to see who would do the best and bring home the finest game. We found this a very good arrangement, as did also the savages who were with us.

There were some cases of *mal de la terre* among us, which was, however, not so violent as in the previous years. Nevertheless, seven died from it, and another from an arrow wound, which he had received from the savages at Port Fortuné.

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Our surgeon, named Master Éstienne, opened some of the bodies, as we did the previous years, and found almost all the interior parts affected. Eight or ten of the sick got well by spring.

At the beginning of March and of April, all began to prepare gardens, so as to plant seeds in May, which is the proper time for it. They grew as well as in France, but were somewhat later. I think France is at least a month and a half more forward. As I have stated, the time to plant is in May, although one can sometimes do so in April; yet the seeds planted then do not come forward any faster than those planted in May, when the cold can no longer damage the plants except those which are very tender, since there are many which cannot endure the hoar-frosts, unless great care and attention be exercised.

On the 24th of May, we perceived a small barque of six or seven tons' burthen, which we sent men to reconnoitre; and it was found to be a young man from St. Malo, named Chevalier, who brought letters from Sieur de Monts to Sieur de Poutrincourt, by which he directed him to bring back his company to France.¹ He also announced to us the birth of Monseigneur, the Duke of Orleans,² to our delight, in honor of which event we made bonfires and chanted the Te Deum.

Between the beginning and the 20th of June, some thirty or forty savages assembled in this place in order to make war upon the Almouchiquois, and revenge the death of Panounias, who was interred by the savages according to their custom, who gave afterwards a quantity of peltry to a brother of his. The presents being made, all of them set out from this place on the 29th of June for Choüacoet, which is the country of the Almouchiquois, to engage in the war.

¹ De Monts' monopoly of the fur trade had been rescinded and consequently he could no longer maintain his enterprise.

² The second son of Henry IV, born, April 16, 1607; died, November 17, 1611.

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Some days after the arrival of the above Chevalier, Sieur de Poutrincourt sent him to the rivers St. John and St. Croix to trade for furs. But he did not permit him to go without men to bring back the barque, since some had reported that he desired to return to France with the vessel in which he had come, and leave us in our settlement. Lescarbot was one of those who accompanied him, who up to this time had not left Port Royal. This is the farthest he went, only fourteen or fifteen leagues beyond Port Royal.

While awaiting the return of Chevalier, Sieur de Poutrincourt went to the head of Baye Françoise in a shallop with seven or eight men. Leaving the harbor and heading northeast a quarter east for some twenty-five leagues along the coast, we arrived at a cape where Sieur de Poutrincourt desired to ascend, a cliff more than thirty fathoms high, in doing which he came near losing his life. For, having reached the top of the rock, which is very narrow, and which he had ascended with much difficulty, the summit trembled beneath him. The reason was that, in course of time, moss had gathered there four or five feet in thickness, and, not being solid, trembled when one was on top of it, and very often when one stepped on a stone three or four others fell down. Accordingly, having gone up with difficulty, he experienced still greater in coming down, although some sailors, men very dexterous in climbing, carried him a hawser, a rope of medium size, by means of which he descended. This place was named Cap de Poutrincourt,¹ and is in latitude 45 degrees 40'.

We went as far as the head of this bay, but saw nothing but certain white stones suitable for making lime, yet they are found only in small quantities. We saw also on some islands a great number of gulls. We captured as many of them as we wished. We made the tour of the bay, in order to go to the Port aux Mines, where I had previously been, and whither I

¹ Now Cape Split, at the entrance of the Basin of Mines.

conducted Sieur de Poutrincourt, who collected some little pieces of copper with great difficulty. All this bay has a circuit of perhaps twenty leagues, with a little river¹ at its head, which is very sluggish and contains but little water. There are many other little brooks, and some places where there are good harbors at high tide, which rises here five fathoms. In one of these harbors three or four leagues north of Cap de Poutrincourt, we found a very old cross all covered with moss and almost all rotten, a plain indication that before this there had been Christians there. All of this country is covered with dense forests, and with some exceptions is not very attractive.

From the Port aux Mines we returned to our settlement. In this bay there are strong tidal currents running in a south-westerly direction.

On the 12th of July, Ralleau, secretary of Sieur de Monts, arrived with three others in a shallop from a place called Niganis,² distant from Port Royal some hundred and sixty or hundred and seventy leagues, confirming the report which Chevalier had brought to Sieur de Poutrincourt.

On the 3d of July,³ three barques were fitted out to send the men and supplies, which were at our settlement, to Canseau, distant one hundred and fifteen leagues from our settlement, and in latitude 45 degrees 20', where the vessel⁴ was engaged in fishing, which was to carry us back to France.

Sieur de Poutrincourt sent back all his companions, but remained with eight others at the settlement, so as to carry to France some grain not yet quite ripe.

On the 10th of August, Mabretou arrived from the war, who told us that he had been at Choüacoet, and had killed twenty savages and wounded ten or twelve; also that Onemetchin, chief of that place, Marchin, and one other, had been

¹ The Shubenacadie.

² Niganish, in the island of Cape Breton.

³ Probably an error for the 30th of July, 1607.

⁴ The *Jonas*, in which Chevalier had come from France.

killed by Sasinou, chief of the river of Quinibequey, who was afterwards killed by the companions of Onemechin and Marchin. All this war was simply on account of the savage Panounias, one of our friends who, as I have said above, had been killed at Norumbegue by the followers of Onemechin and Marchin. At present, the chiefs in place of Onemechin, Marchin, and Sasinou are their sons: namely, for Sasinou, Pememen; Abriou for his father, Marchin; and for Onemechin, Queconsicq. The two latter were wounded by the followers of Mabretou, who seized them under pretence of friendship, as is their fashion, something which both sides have to guard against.

Chapter 17.

The settlement abandoned. Return to France of Sieur de Pourtincourt and all his company.

On the 11th of August, we set out from our settlement in a shallop, and coasted along as far as Cape Fourchu, where I had previously been.

Continuing our course along the coast as far as Cap de la Hève, where we first landed with Sieur de Monts, on the 8th of May, 1604, we examined the coast from this place as far as Canseau, a distance of nearly sixty leagues. This I had not yet done, and I observed it very carefully, making a map of it as of the other coasts.

Departing from Cap de la Hève, we went as far as Sesambre,¹ an island so called by some people from St. Malo, and distant fifteen leagues from La Hève. Along the route are a large number of islands, which we named Les Martyres, since some Frenchmen were once killed there by the savages. These islands lie in several inlets and bays. In one of them is a river named St. Marguerite,² distant seven leagues from Sesambre, which is in latitude 44 degrees 25'. The islands and coasts are

¹ Now Sambro. ² St. Margaret's Bay.

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thickly covered with pines, firs, birches, and other trees of inferior quality. Fish and also fowl are abundant.

After leaving Sesambre, we passed a bay which is unobstructed, of seven or eight leagues in extent, with no islands except at the extremity, where is the mouth of a small river, containing but little water.¹ Then, heading north-east a quarter east, we arrived at a harbor distant eight leagues from Sesambre, which is a very suitable harbor for vessels of a hundred or a hundred and twenty tons. At its entrance is an island from which one can walk to the mainland at low tide. We named this place Port Sainte Helaine, which is in latitude 44 degrees 40' more or less.

From this place we proceeded to a bay called La Baye de Toutes Isles, of some fourteen or fifteen leagues in extent, a dangerous place on account of the presence of banks, shoals, and reefs. The country presents a very unfavorable appearance, being filled with the same kind of trees which I have mentioned before. Here we encountered bad weather.

Hence we passed on near a river, six leagues distant, called Riviere de l'Isle Verte, there being a green island at its entrance.² This short distance which we traversed is filled with numerous rocks extending nearly a league out to sea, where the breakers are high, the latitude being 45 degrees 15'.

Thence we went to a place where there is an inlet, with two or three islands, and a very good harbor,³ distant three leagues from l'Isle Verte. We passed also by several islands near and in a line with each other, which we named Isles Rangées, and which are distant six or seven leagues from l'Isle Verte. Afterwards we passed by another bay,⁴ containing several islands, and proceeded to a place where we found a vessel engaged in fishing between some islands, which are a short distance from the main land, and distant four leagues from the Rangées. This

¹ Halifax Harbor.

² Now called River St. Mary and Wedge Island.

³ Country Harbor.

⁴ Tor Bay.

place we named Port de Savalette,¹ the name of the master of the vessel engaged in fishing, a Basque, who entertained us bountifully, and was very glad to see us, since there were savages there who purposed some harm to him, which we prevented.

Leaving this place, we arrived on the 27th of the month at Canseau, distant six leagues from Port de Savalette, having passed on our way a large number of islands. At Canseau, Champdoré and Lescarbot came out to receive us. We also found the vessel ready to sail, having finished its fishing and awaiting only fair weather to return. Meanwhile, we had much enjoyment among these islands, where we found the greatest possible quantity of raspberries.

All the coast which we passed along from Cape Sable to this place is moderately high and rocky, in most places bordered by numerous islands and breakers, which extend out to sea nearly two leagues in places, and are very unfavorable for the approach of vessels. Yet there cannot but be good harbors and roadsteads along the coasts and islands, if they were explored. As to the country, it is worse and less promising than in other places which we had seen, except on some rivers or brooks, where it is very pleasant; but there is no doubt that the winter in these regions is cold, lasting from six to seven months.

The harbor of Canseau is a place surrounded by islands, to which the approach is very difficult, except in fair weather, on account of the rocks and breakers about it. Fishing, both green and dry, is carried on here.

From this place to the Island of Cape Breton, which is in latitude 45 degrees 45' and 14 degrees 50' of the deflection of the magnetic needle, it is eight leagues, and to Cape Breton twenty-five. Between the two there is a large bay, extending some nine or ten leagues into the interior and making a passage² between the Island of Cape Breton and the main land through to the great Bay of St. Lawrence, by which they go to

¹ White Haven now. ² Chedabucto Bay and the Strait of Canso.

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Gaspé and Isle Percée, where fishing is carried on. This passage along the Island of Cape Breton is very narrow. Although there is water enough, large vessels do not pass there at all on account of the strong currents and the impetuosity of the tides which prevail. This we named Le Passage Courant, and it is in latitude $45^{\circ} 45'$.

The Island of Cape Breton is of a triangular shape, with a circuit of about eighty leagues. Most of the country is mountainous, yet in some parts very pleasant. In the centre of it there is a kind of lake,¹ where the sea enters by the north a quarter north-west, and also by the south a quarter south-east. Here are many islands filled with plenty of game, and shellfish of various kinds, including oysters, which however, are not of very good flavor. In this place there are two harbors where fishing is carried on: namely, Le Port aux Anglois,² distant from Cape Breton some two or three leagues, and Niganis, eighteen or twenty leagues north a quarter north-west. The Portuguese once made an attempt to settle this island, and spent a winter here; but the inclemency of the season and the cold caused them to abandon their settlement.

On the 3d of September, we set out from Canseau. On the 4th, we were off Sable Island. On the 6th, we reached the Grand Bank, where the catching of green fish is carried on, in latitude $45^{\circ} 30'$. On the 26th, we entered the sound near the shores of Brittany and England, in sixty-five fathoms of water and in latitude $49^{\circ} 30'$. On the 28th, we put in at Roscou,³ in lower Brittany, where we were detained by bad weather until the last day of September, when, the wind coming round favorable, we put to sea in order to pursue our route to St. Malo, which formed the termination of these voyages, in which God had guided us without shipwreck or danger.

End of the Voyages from the Year 1604 to 1608.

¹ The reference is to the Bras d'Or Lakes.

² Louisburg. ³ Now Roscoff.

2. *Narrative of Marc Lescarbot.*



HAMPLAIN'S Journal gives the experiences and observations of a well-seasoned scientific explorer. Lescarbot's story of the same colony conveys the impressions of a lawyer who was also occasionally a theologian, often a philosopher, and withal a scholar with literary tastes and a keen sense of the humorous and dramatic. He manifestly prided himself upon his extensive acquaintance with classic and mediæval authors, whom he summons in season and out of season to adorn his tale. To the beauty of nature he was keenly alive, and the poet concealed within him made him a frequent wooer of the Muse of Poetry. Indeed, his experiences in America and on shipboard inspired him to sing so often that he became the poet-laureate as well as the historian of the expedition. The verses with which he immortalized the Acadian heroes and their exploits were gathered together by him and published in a volume under the title "Les Muses de la Nouvelle France," in 1618, with the third edition of his history. It contains epics of Indian wars, lyrics, and rhapsodies in honor of New France and Old France, and odes and sonnets to each of the prominent men of the colony, especially to De Monts and Poutrincourt.

The latter gentleman, it is easy to see, was Lescarbot's chief hero. Champlain indeed received the tribute of a sonnet, yet it seems as tho Lescarbot admired and respected him — but at some distance.

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In all the narratives of exploration in this period there is probably not one more filled with individual quality and more agreeable to the modern reader than Lescarbot's history. The first edition of the "Histoire de la Nouvelle France" appeared in Paris in 1609. The author announced himself on the title-page as "Marc Lescarbot, Avocat en Parlement, Temoin oculaire d'une partie des choses ici recitées." The fourth book contains an account of the events in Acadie from 1604 to 1607.

Publications about America were evidently closely watched in those days on both sides of the English Channel, for an English translation of Lescarbot's fourth and sixth books appeared in the same year, 1609, under the following title:

Nova Francia; or the Description of that part of New France which is one continent with Virginia. Described in the three late Voyages and Plantations made by Monsieur de Monts, Monsieur de Pont-Gravé, and Monsieur de Poutrincourt, into the countries called by the Frenchmen La Cadie, lying to the Southwest of Cape Breton. Together with an excellent severall Treatie of all the commodities of the said countries, and maners of the naturall inhabitants of the same. Translated out of French into English by P. E.

London: Printed for Andrew Hebb, and are to be sold at the signe of the Bell in Paul's Churchyard (1609). 4to, pp. 307.

This version was made apparently with some haste by a Huguenot refugee, named Pierre Erondelle, and Winsor says that he worked at the instance of Hakluyt, who wished to prove by it how much more suitable for colonization was Virginia than Acadia.

Purchas¹ used Erondelle's translation in his "Pilgrimes," and that text is used here. Erondelle's "Nova Francia" was however an abridgment of the original, and all the omitted portions have been restored to their proper places in the narrative. It seemed worth while to preserve Erondelle's text on account of its contemporaneous style of diction. The passages which he omitted are translated here from a copy of the 1618 edition of Lescarbot's history in the library of Columbia University, and the portions thus supplied are enclosed in brackets.

The first chapter of Lescarbot's fourth book is here omitted altogether, as it comprises only the commission and royal letters issued by King Henry IV to Sieur de Monts. Purchas also omitted a considerable part of this chapter, and added the following marginal note:

The rest of this Patent is here for brevitie omitted: with the Provisoes, etc. And let not Englishmen feare want of roome for French Plantations or Savage habitations; these being very thin, the other scarce worthy the name of being, or plantation, having so many interruptions, and more frequented by the French in way of Trade with Savages then otherwise. I have omitted many digressions and discourses of the Authour; only for knowledge of those parts presenting the brief summe of his most ample Worke. His Map but for cost, I would have here added. I have divers by me which I take more exact, I am sure with many particulars wanting in his. And both his Mappe and Discourse shew that the French discovered not so neere Virginia, as Hudson River; and that the French Plantations have beene more Northerly farre, then our Northerne Virginia, and to the Southerne, not a shadow in comparison of costs and numbers.

¹ Vol. IV, or Vol. XVIII of the Macm. edition.

THE VOYAGE OF MONSIEUR DE MONTS INTO
NEW FRANCE, WRITTEN BY MARKE LES-
CARBOT.

Chapter 2.

Voyage of Monsieur de Monts to New France : Accidents during voyage : Causes of icebergs in Newfoundland : Naming of certain Ports : Perplexity over delay of our ship.

MONSIEUR DE MONTS having made the Commissions and Prohibitions before said, to bee proclaimed thorow the Realme of France, and especially thorow the Ports and maritime Townes thereof, caused two shippes to bee rigged and furnished, the one under the conduct of Captaine Timothy of New-haven (Havre de Grace), the other of Captaine Morell of Honfleur. In the first, hee shipped himselfe, with good number of men of account, as well Gentlemen as others. And for as much as Monsieur de Poutrincourt was, and had bene of a long time, desirous to see those Countries of New France, and there to finde out and choose some fit place to retire himselfe into, with his Family, Wife and Children, not meaning to be the last that should follow and participate in the glorie of so faire and generous an enterprize, he would needs goe thither, and shipped himselfe with the said Monsieur de Monts, carrying with him some quantitie of Armour and Munitions of Warre; and so weighed Anchors from New-haven the seventh day of March 1604. But being departed somewhat too soone, before the Winter had yet left off her frozen Weed, they found store of Icie bankes, against the which they were in danger to strike, and so to be cast away; [but God, who at all times has blessed the course of these voyages, preserved them. It would be reasonable to inquire why upon the same parallel of latitude there are in that sea more icebergs than in French waters. To which I reply that

the icebergs found in that sea are not products of that climate, i.e., of the gulf of St. Lawrence, but come from northern regions, easily driven along over the expanses of the ocean by the heavy rains, sudden squalls, and tremendous waves blown up by the east and north winds in the winter and spring time, driving the icebergs toward the south and the west. But the sea of France is so protected by Scotland, England, and Ireland that the icebergs cannot enter. There may also be another reason, i. e., the force of the ocean's movement, which is so much greater here than in the waters of France because of its long course toward the coasts of America.

But the perils of this voyage were not only the encounters with icebergs, but also the storms that were endured, one of which swept away the stern gallery of a vessel. A ship's carpenter, with one crash of a wave, was carried overboard and would have gone swiftly on his way to destruction had he not caught and held to a cord that chance had hung over the side of the vessel.]

The voyage was long by reason of contrarie winds, which seldome hapneth to them that set out in March for the New-foundlands, which are ordinarily carried with an East or Northerne winde, fit to goe to those Lands. And having taken their course to the South to the Ile of Sand or Sablon, for to shunne the said Ices, they almost fell from Caribdis into Scylla, going to strike towards the said Ile, during the thicke mists that are frequent in that Sea. In the end, the sixt of May they came to a certaine Port, where they found Captaine Rossignol of New-haven, who did trucke for skinnes with the Savages, contrary to the Kings Inhibitions, which was the cause that his ship was confiscated. This Port was called Le Port du Rossignol, having (in this his hard fortune) this onely good, that a good and fit Harborough or Port in those Coasts beareth his name.

From thence coasting and discovering the Lands, they

arrived at another Port, very faire, which they named Le Port de Moutton, by reason that a Mutton or Weather having leaped over-board and drowned himselfe came aboard againe, and was taken and eaten as good prize.

[Thus it was that in olden times many names were given hastily and without due deliberation. The Capitol of Rome was so named because when digging on the site they unearthed a death's head. Thus Milan was called "Mediolanum," that is to say "demi-laine," because the Gauls when tearing down the foundations, found a sow, the half still covered with bristles; and thus it has been in many instances.

In this Port du Moutton they built themselves huts like the natives, and settled themselves to await news of the other ship in which were the provisions and other necessary things for the winter, and a reserve force of about a hundred men. They waited in great anxiety a long month, fearing that some sinister accident had overtaken the other vessel which had set sail on the tenth of March, and aboard of which were Captain du Pont of Honfleur and the aforesaid Captain Morel. Upon the arrival of this ship depended the success or the failure of the whole enterprise.

During this long delay the question of a return to France was deliberated upon. Monsieur de Poutrincourt was of the opinion that it were better to die where they were, to which Monsieur de Monts agreed. So they set themselves to hunt and to fish in the hope of being able to improve their larder.] Neere the said Moutton Port there is a place so replenished with Rabbets and Conies, that they almost did eate nothing else. During that time Monsieur Champlein was sent with a shallop to seeke farther off a fitter place to retire themselves, at which Exploit he tarried so long, that deliberating upon the returne, they thought to leave him behind: for there was no more victuals: and they served themselves with that, that was found in the said Rossignols ship, without which they had been

forced to returne into France, and so to breake a faire enterprize at the very birth and beginning thereof; or to starve, having ended the hunting of Conies, which could not still continue.

[The long delay of Monsieur du Pont and Captain Morel was due to two occurrences. First, that needing more ship room they busied themselves with the construction of a boat in the first harbour at which they arrived (which was the Port aux Anglais). Secondly, that when they arrived at the Port de Campseau they found four vessels of Basques trafficking with the natives, contrary to the King's inhibitions. These Basques they took and despoiled. The captains were brought to Monsieur de Monts, who treated them with kindly mercy.

Three weeks passed, and Monsieur de Monts, having no news of the expected vessel, thought to send out a search along the coast. For this purpose he dispatched several natives, to whom he joined a Frenchman to accompany them with letters. These natives promised to return in eight days to a point agreed upon, the which they did not fail to do.

But before setting out, (and so showing us the place and strength of the family among them) these savages had a care for their wives and children, and demanded that food should be apportioned them—which was done. They then set sail and in a few days found, in a place called Island Bay, those whom they were seeking, and who were as anxious concerning the fate of Monsieur de Monts as he concerning theirs, for they had not found the signs and signals agreed upon. Monsieur de Monts, passing by Campseau was to have marked a cross on a tree or to have left a letter attached to one. This had not been done because Monsieur de Monts had not touched at Campseau, passing far to the south to avoid the icebergs before mentioned. After having read the letters brought them, Captains du Pont and Morel discharged themselves of the provisions they had brought for those who were to winter there, and turned back toward the St. Lawrence to trade for furs.]

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

Chapter III.

Landing at Port du Mouton : Man lost in woods sixteen days : Baye Françoise : Port-Royal : River of l'Equille : Copper mine : Evil of gold mines : Diamonds : Turquoises.

All New France in the end being contained in two ships, they weighed Anchors from Port du Moutton, for to imploy their time, and to discover Lands as much as might bee before Winter. Wee came to Cape de Sable, or the Sandie Cape; and from thence we sailed to the Bay of Saint Marie, where our men lay at Anchor fifteene dayes, whilst the Lands and passages as well by Sea as by River might be descried and knowne. This Bay is a very faire place to inhabit, because that one is readily carried thither without doubling. There are Mynes of Iron and Silver; but in no great abundance, according to the triall made thereof in France.

[After a sojourn of twelve or thirteen days here, a strange accident occurred. A young priest, of a good family in Paris, had determined, against the wishes of his parents, to take this voyage with Monsieur de Monts. His parents had sent friends after him to Honfleur to dissuade and bring him back to Paris, but his resolution had held immovable, and indeed was all praiseworthy, for, if the counsels of sedentary people were always followed, many great opportunities would be lost.

The ships being at anchor in Saint Mary's Bay, this young priest joined a group of those who went forth to divert themselves in the woods. Stopping to drink at a brook, he left there his sword and had gone on some distance with the others when he observed his loss. He turned back to search for it, but after having found it could no longer tell which way he had come. He had failed to observe directions and knew not whether to go east or west or north or south, for there were no paths. So, turning his back on those he had left, he went on until he reached the coast. There, seeing no ships, as they

were on the opposite side of the tongue of land called Long Island, he thought himself deserted and sat down on a rock to lament his fate. When night came on and all had returned to the ship, the priest was missed. Those who had been in the woods told in what manner he had left them and averred that nothing had been seen of him afterwards.]

Whereupon a Protestant was charged to have killed him because they quarrelled sometimes for matters of Religion. Finally, they sounded a Trumpet thorow the Forrest, they shot off the Canon divers times, but in vaine: for the roaring of the Sea, stronger then all that, did expell backe the sound of the said Cannons and Trumpets. Two, three and foure days passed he appeareth not. In the meanwhile the time hastens to depart, so having tarried so long that hee was then held for dead, they weighed Anchors to goe further, and to see the depth of a Bay that hath some fortie leagues length, and fourteene (yea, eighteene) of breadth, which was named La Baye Française, or the French Bay.

In this Bay is the passage to come into a Port, whereinto our men entred, and made some abode, during the which they had the pleasure to hunt an Ellan, or Stagge, that crossed a great Lake of the Sea, which maketh this Port, and did swimme but easily. This Port is environed with Mountaines on the North side: Towards the South bee small Hills, which (with the said Mountaines) doe powre out a thousand Brookes, which make that place pleasanter then any other place in the World: there are very faire falles of waters, fit to make Milles of all sorts. At the East is a River betweene the said Mountaines and Hilles, in which the shippes may saile fifteene leagues and more, and in all this distance is nothing on both sides the River but faire Medowes, which River was named L'Equille, because that the first fish therein was an Equille.¹ But the said

¹ A Norman word. The more common name of the fish is Lançon, or Anguille de sable.

Port, for the beautie thereof was called Port Royall, [not by the choice of Champlain, as he boasts in the account of his voyage, but by Monsieur de Monts, Lieutenant of the King.]

Monsieur de Poutrincourt having found this place to bee to his liking demanded it, with the Lands thereunto adjoyning, of Monsieur de Monts: to whom the King had by Commission, before inserted, granted the distribution of the Lands of New France from the fortieth degree to the sixe and fortieth. Which place was granted to the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, who since hath Letters of confirmation for the same of his Majestie, intending to retire himselfe thither with his Family, and there to establish the Christian and French Name, as much as his power shall stretch, and God grant him the meanes to accomplish it. The Port containeth eight leagues of circuit, besides the River of L'Equille, [now called the River of the Dauphin.]

There is within it two Iles very faire and pleasant: the one at the mouth of the said River, which I deeme to bee of the greatnesse¹ of the Citie of Beauvais: The other at the side of the mouth of another River, as broad as the River of Oise, or Marne, entring within the said Port: The said Ile being almost of the greatnesse of the other: and they both are wooddie. In this Port and right over against the former Ile, wee dwelt three yeeres after this Voyage. We will speake thereof more at large hereafter.

From Port Royall they sailed to the Copper Myne, whereof wee have spoken before elsewhere. It is a high Rocke betweene two Bayes of the Sea, wherein the Copper is conjoyned with the stone, very faire and very pure, such as is that which is called Rozette Copper. Many Gold-smithes have seene of it in France, which doe say that under the Copper Myne there might be a Golden Myne: which is very probable. [But to amuse one's self with hunting for it is likely to be a waste of time.]² For if those excrements that Nature expell-

¹ "Une lieue francaise de circuit," were Lescarbott's words.

² This sentence is not in the original.

eth forth be so pure, namely, small pieces that are found upon the gravell at the foote of the Rocke, when it is low water, there is no doubt that the Metall which is in the bowels of the earth is much more perfect, but this is a worke that requireth time. The first myning and working is to have Bread, Wine and Cattle, as we have said else-where. Our felicitie consisteth not in Mynes, specially of Gold and Silver, which serve for nothing in the tillage of the ground, nor to Handicrafts use. Contrarewise, the abundance of them is but a charge and burthen, that keepeth man in perpetuall unquiet, and the more he hath thereof, the lesse rest enjoyeth he, and his life lesser assured unto him.

Before the Voyages of Perou great riches might have been set up in a small place, in stead that in this our age by the abundance of Gold and silver the same is come at no value nor esteeme. One hath need of huge Chests and Coffers to put in that, which a small Budget might have contained. One might have travelled with a Purse in ones sleeve, and now a Cloke-bagge and a Horse must expresly be had for that purpose.

[Bodin, in his "Republic," says that he verified by the accounts of the treasury the fact that the Chancellor of France, in the time of Saint Louis, had for himself, his horses and grooms, for food and for all necessary things, but seven French sous a day. Considering which,] wee may justly curse the houre that greedie Avarice did carrie the Spaniard into the West, for the wofull events that have ensued thereof. For when I consider that by his greedinesse he hath kindled and maintayned the Warre thorow all Christendome, and his onely studie hath beene how to destroy his Neighbours (and not the Turke) I cannot thinke that any other but the Devill hath beene the Authour of their Voyages. And let not the pre-tence of Religion be alleaged unto mee: for (as wee have said elsewhere) they have killed all the of-spring of the Countrey

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

with the most inhumane torments that the Devill hath been able to excogitate. And by their cruelties have rendred the Name of God odious, and a name of offence to those poore people, and have continually and daily blasphemed him in the midst of the Gentiles as the Prophet reprocheth to the people of Israel. Witnesse him that had rather bee damned, then goe to the Paradise of the Spaniards.¹

[The greed of the Romans was always insatiable, and they fought with all the nations of the world for their wealth; but we find in their history none of the cruelty of the Spaniards. They contented themselves with plundering the peoples they conquered without taking their lives. An ancient pagan poet holds that the crime of the Romans was to consider as their enemies all peoples rich in gold. The lines of this poet are so graceful that I cannot resist transcribing them here, though to quote Latin was scarcely my intention.

Orbem jam totum Romanus victor habebat,
Quà mare, quà terra, quà fidus currit utrumque,
Nec satiatius erat : gravidis freta pulsa carinis
Jam peragrabantur : si quis sinus abditus ultra,
Si qua foret tellus quae fulvum mitteret aurum
Hostis erat : fatisque in tristia bella paratis,
Quærebantur opes.

But the doctrine of the wise son of Sirach teaches us quite another thing. For, knowing that the riches that are sought after even unto the caves of Pluto are but “irritamenta malorum,” he declares, “Happy the man who has not run after gold nor put his hope in silver and treasures,” adding, “He must be esteemed among all his people as having done a marvelous thing, and worthy of all glory, whoever has been tempted by riches and has remained perfect.”² And, conversely, unhappy he who has done otherwise.

¹ In a former part of his narrative (Book I, chap. 18, p. 120) Lescarbot relates this as a speech of one Hathuci, a cacique from Hispaniola, and gives las Casas as his authority. The same story is told of Mexican and Peruvian chiefs.

² Ecclesiasticus, chap. xxxi, 8, 9, 10.

But to return to our mines,] among these Copper Rockes there is found sometimes small Rockes covered with Diamonds fixed to them. I will not assure them for fine, but that is very pleasing to the sight. There are also certaine shining blue stones, which are of no lesse value or worth than Turkie Stones.¹

Monsieur de Champdoré, our guide for the Navigations in those Countries, having cut within a Rocke one of those stones, at his returne from New France hee brake it in two, and gave one part of it to Monsieur de Monts, the other to Monsieur de Poutrincourt, which they made to be put in Gold, and were found worthy to be presented the one to the King by the said Poutrincourt, the other to the Queene by the said de Monts, and were very well accepted. I remember that a Goldsmith did offer fifteene Crownes to Monsieur de Poutrincourt for that hee presented to his Majestie. [There are many other secrets, many other beautiful things in this earth, of which we have as yet no knowledge, but which will be disclosed as the country becomes inhabited.]

Chapter IV.

Description of St. John's River and the Island Sainte Croix : Man lost in woods found on sixteenth day : Examples of marvelous fasts : Differences among savages submitted to Monsieur de Monts : Paternal authority among savages : Choice of husbands for their daughters.

[From the above mentioned mine they went on to another on the French Bay, traversing the length of the bay, rounding the Cape and entering the river St. John, so called (I think) because they entered it on the twenty-fourth of June, St. John's Day.

On the east is a fine harbor, (about a league in length) but with an entrance dangerous for those unfamiliar with it. At one extremity of the harbor is a precipitous fall of the St.

¹ Turquoises.

John's River. The water dashes against the rocks when the sea is low with a tremendous roar. Several times we heard the noise at more than two leagues distance. When the sea is high, large vessels may enter.]

This river is one of the fairest that may be seene, having store of Islands, and swarming with fishes. This last yeere, 1608, the said Monsieur de Champdoré, with one of the said Monsieur de Monts his men, hath beene some fifty leagues up the said River: and doe witness that there is great quantitie of Vines along the shoare, but the grapes are not so bigge as they be in the Countrie of the Armouchiquois: There are also Onions, and many other sorts of good hearbs. As for the Trees they are the fairest that may be seene. When wee were there wee saw great number of Cedar Trees. Concerning fishes the said Champdoré hath related unto us, that putting the Kettle over fire, they had taken fish sufficient for their Dinner before that the water was hot. Moreover this River, stretching itself farre within the Lands of the Savages doth marvellously shorten the long travels by meanes thereof. For in sixe dayes they goe to Gashepe,¹ coming to the Bay or Gulfe of Chaleur, or heate, when they are at the end of it, in carrying their Canowes some few leagues. And by the same River in eight dayes they go to Tadoussac² by a branch of the same which commeth from the North-west. In such sort that in Port Royall one may have within fifteene or eighteen dayes newes from the Frenchmen, dwelling in the great River of Canada, by these wayes: which could not be done in one moneth, by Sea, nor without danger.

Leaving Saint Johns River, they came following the Coast twentie leagues from that place, to a great River (which is properly Sea) where they fortified themselves in a little Iland

¹ Cape Gaspé, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence river, the promontory on the southern side.

² At the junction of the Saguenay and St. Lawrence rivers.

seated in the midst of this River, which the said Champlaine had beene to discover and view. And seeing it strong by nature, and of easie defence and keeping, besides that the season beganne to slide away, and therefore it was behoovefull to provide of lodging, without running any farther, they resolved to make their abode there.

[I shall not enter into the reasons for their resolution to establish themselves here; nevertheless I hold that whoever enters into a land to take possession of it, does not settle on an island, there to be a prisoner. For before all else should be considered the cultivation of the land. And I wonder how one could expect to cultivate it, if at any time, morning, noon and night it is necessary to cross (and with great difficulty) a large body of water, to obtain from the mainland every necessity. Suppose there should be danger from an enemy; how should workmen protect themselves, if isolated on the mainland, engaged in some necessary labor and suddenly pursued? Boats could not always be at their call at any given point nor two men to row them. Then, too, so many commodities are necessary to our existence. An island without streams of fresh water for drinking and for housekeeping is not a fit place for the establishment of a colony; and these small islands have none. Neither is there to be found sufficient wood for fire. But above all must there be protection from the rude winds and the cold, which protection it is impossible to have in a small space surrounded by water. Nevertheless the colony settled there, in the middle of a wide river, where the north and north west winds sweep down at pleasure. And because the courses of two rivers that discharge their waters into this great arm of the sea form a cross, this island of the Frenchmen's retreat was named "Sainte Croix"¹ — distant twenty-five leagues from Port Royal.

Now, while they are beginning the work of cutting down

¹ Cf. Champlain's Journal, above, pp. 94, 95.

the cedars and other trees to build the necessary lodgings, let us return to the search of Master Nicolas Aubri,¹ who was lost in the woods and who has all this time been regarded as dead.]

As they began to visit and search the Iland, Monsieur de Champdoré (of whom we shall henceforth make mention, by reason he dwelt foure yeere in those parts, conducting the Voyages made there) was sent backe to the Bay of Saint Mary, with a Mine-finder, that had been carried thither for to get some Mynes of silver and Iron, which they did. And as they had crossed the French Bay, they entred into the said Bay of Saint Marie, by a narrow Straite or passage, which is betweene the Land of Port Royall, and an Iland called the Long Ile: where after some abode they going a fishing, Monsieur Aubri (the Priest before lost) perceived them, and beganne with a feeble voice to call as loud as he could. [To help out his voice he thought to do as once did Ariadne to Theseus, as Ovid relates:

Je mis un linge blanc sur le bout d'une lance,
Pour leur donner de moy nouvelle souvenance.

(I waved a white flag at the end of a lance hoping thus to recall myself to their memory)], and put his Handkercher and his Hat on a staves end, which made him better to be knowne. [One of the company who heard the voice said it might be Aubri; the others laughed at the idea. However, when they saw the waving flag and hat they knew some person must be there. They approached and immediately recognized the young man and welcomed him to their boat with great joy and satisfaction, it being the sixteenth day after his straying.

In these latter days a number of writers, taking flattering unction to their souls, have stuffed their books and histories with many miracles, which merit admiration far less than this one.] For during these sixteene daies hee fed himselfe by (I

¹ Cf. Champlain's Journal, above, p. 88.

know not what) small fruits, like unto cherries, without kernell (yet not so delicate) which are scarsly found in those Woods. [They are, I believe, what the Latins call "Myrtillas" and the Burgundians "Pourtan." But we cannot think that these berries were able to sustain a hearty man in need of food and drink;—we must believe that God worked above and beyond nature. And in truth God's special grace and favor is seen during these voyages in many instances, some of which we will describe as occasion presents. This poor Aubri (so I call him on account of his misfortune) was appallingly emaciated, as may easily be believed.] They gave him food by measure, and brought him backe againe to the company at the Iland of Saint Croix, whereof every one received an incredible joy and consolation, [particularly Monsieur de Monts who was most concerned of all.

It is not necessary to cite the story of the maid of Consolans in Poitou, who, about six years ago, ate no food for a space of two years: neither of the maiden near Berne in Switzerland, who, after the year 1601, lost her appetite for food for the remainder of her life: nor any tale of that ilk. Those incidents were but the effects of an outraged nature.

As to Pliny's account¹ of a people at the farthest extremity of India, in the region of the Ganges' source, who are called "Astomes," i.e., "without mouth," and who live simply by inhaling through the nose the odor and exhalations of certain roots, flowers, and fruits; I cannot easily believe it. Neither can I put credence in Captain Jacques Quartier when he tells of certain folks at the Saguenay who have no mouth and who do not eat; his tale being corroborated by the native Donacona whom he brought to France to recount the matter to the King, along with other tales passing common belief. But, however that may be, such people were fashioned by nature to live in that manner. Here such is not the case. Aubri lacked in no

¹ Book VII, chap. 2.

wise appetite: yet he lived sixteen days sustained in part by a certain nutritive force that is in the air of this country, and by the fruit of which I have spoken; God giving him the strength to endure this long dearth of food without crossing the threshold of death. I regard this as strange, and truly it is so.

There are however some stories of our time related by Monsieur Goulart Senlisien that cause the greatest astonishment.¹ Among them is the story of a Henri de Hasseld, a merchant of the Low Countries, trading to Berg in Norway, who, indignant at hearing a glutton of a preacher speak skeptically of miraculous fasts, saying it was no longer in the power of God to do what had been done in the past—attempted a fast and abstained from all food and drink during three days. Then, pressed by hunger, he took a piece of bread intending to swallow it with a glass of beer; but the whole stuck in his throat in such a way that he remained forty days and nights without eating or drinking. At the end of that time he expelled by the mouth the food and drink that had stayed in his throat. Such a long fast had so weakened him that it was necessary to nourish him back to strength with milk.

The governor of the country heard of this marvel and sent for him to find out the truth of the matter. However, the governor had not sufficient faith to believe until it was proved to him by a second trial. This time keeping the man under guard in one room, the governor found the story credible.

Henri de Hasseld was known for a pious man, particularly for his kindness toward the poor. Sometime afterward having gone to Brussels, in Brabant, on a matter of trade, one of his debtors, to avoid paying what he owed, accused de Hasseld of heresy and caused him to be burned at the stake in the year 1545.

There is also the Canon of Liège, who desired to try his ability to fast. He went without food until the seventeenth

¹ Jean Yvier, in his treatise, “*De jejuniis Commentitiis.*”

day when he became so exhausted that if they had not with all speed given him a strong restorative, he would have died in a swoon.

A young girl of Buchhold, in the province of Munster in Westphalia, was afflicted with melancholy and would not go out of the house. Her mother beat her, which so increased her suffering that she lost all sleep and was four months without food or drink, except that once in awhile she tasted of a baked apple and rinsed out her mouth with a little tisane.

Ecclesiastical history,¹ among a host of fasters, tells us of three holy hermits called Simeon who lived in a wonderful austerity. Their fasts were from eight to fifteen days duration—even longer; and their only dwelling was a column whereon they passed their lives;—from whence they came to be called “Stelites,” that is to say, “Colonnaires,” or Pillar Saints.

But all these latter people were either resolved upon fasting, or little by little became accustomed to it, so that it was no longer so arduous; which was not at all the case with our young man. The fact that he was not at all disposed to abstain from food and was in no way accustomed to such hardship, makes his fast the more marvelous.

Now after they had feasted him and spent some time further in directing affairs and in exploring the land round about the Isle St. Croix, they began to discuss the advisability of sending the ships back to France before the winter set in, thus making it possible for those to return who had not come with the intention of wintering.

The natives at this time came from all the country around to see the daily life of the Frenchmen, and soon showed a desire to settle near. They even brought their differences to Monsieur de Monts as judge, which was the beginning of a voluntary subjection, and from which can be drawn the hope

¹ Evagrius, Ecclesiastical History, Book I, chap. xiii; Baronius on Roman Martyrology, Book IX.

that these people will easily accustom themselves to our manner of life.

Among other happenings before the departure of the vessels, was the case of a young native named Bituani. He had taken a liking to Monsieur de Monts' larder, was employed therein and had done some service. At the same time he had courted a young girl there, desiring her in marriage. Not being able to obtain the favor and consent of her father, he took her by force and made her his wife. Thereupon ensued a stormy quarrel. The girl was taken from him and restored to her father. A judicial hearing was appointed. Bituani laid his complaint before Monsieur de Monts; the others came to defend their side of the question. The father, assisted by his friends, claimed that he would not give his daughter to a man who had no occupation by means of which to provide nourishment for her, and for the children that might spring from their marriage. As for this fellow, he did not see that he knew how to do anything. He was always amusing himself about the kitchen of Sieur de Monts and would not go hunting and fishing with his tribe. The end of the matter was that he should not have the maid and could content himself with what had passed.

Monsieur de Monts heard them all; then said that he would not hold the man a prisoner, that he considered him after all a worthy fellow and would give him an opportunity to go out and hunt and show what he could do. But for all that, if they had not been willing to return the girl to him, he would not have shown the ability that the Sieur de Monts predicted. To make a long story short, the man went forth on a fishing excursion and soon brought in a great haul of salmon. The maid was given back to him, and the next day, dressed in a new cloak of beaver, well ornamented with "matachias,"¹ he returned to the fort which the Frenchmen had begun to build,

¹ "Matachias," wrought collars, bracelets, belts, etc.

bringing with him his wife, as if to show her triumphantly, like a prize won in open warfare. And always he loved and provided for her, even more than was customary among his tribe, proving that what is hardly gained is cherished the more tenderly.

This brings to our notice the two most considerable elements in the marriage customs observed by these savage peoples, ruled only by the law of nature—the recognition of parental authority and the industry of the husband. Many times have I admired these two things among them.

During several centuries in our Christian church, by what strange abuse I know not, parental authority was flouted and vilified until ecclesiastical assemblies turned their attention to the matter and recognized that such conduct was against all nature. Now our kings, by edicts, have put the authority of parents again in its place. However, in spiritual marriages and religious vows, paternal authority has not yet regained its power, and relies only upon the decrees of Courts of Law, which have frequently compelled the confiners (*detenteurs*) of children to restore them to their parents.]¹

Chapter V.

Description of Island Sainte-Croix : Monsieur de Monts' undertaking difficult and generous : Persecution by those jealous of him : Monsieur de Poutrincourt's return to France : Perils of the voyage.

Before we speake of the ships returne into France, it is meete to tell you how hard the Ile of Saint Croix is to bee found out, to them that were never there. For there are so many Iles and great Bayes to goe by, before one be at it, that I wonder how ever one might pierce so farre for to finde it.

¹ There seems to be in this passage a hidden current of criticism directed against the powers that be. It is possible that Lescarbot wrote this whole passage in order to conceal as well as to express certain Huguenot sympathies.

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There are three or foure Mountaines, imminent above the others, on the sides: But on the North side, from whence the River runneth downe, there is but a sharpe pointed one, above two leagues distant. The Woods of the maine Land are faire and admirable high and well growne, as in like manner is the grasse. There is right over against the Iland fresh water brooks, very pleasant and agreeable, where divers of Monsieur de Monts his men did their businesse, and builded there certaine Cabanes. As for the nature of the ground it is most excellent and most abundantly fruitfull. For the said Monsieur de Monts, having caused there some piece of ground to bee tilled, and the same sowed with rie (for I have seene there no Wheate) hee was not able to tarrie for the maturitie thereof to reape it: and notwithstanding, the graine, fallen, hath growne and increased so wonderfully that, two yeeres after, we reaped and did gather of it as faire, bigge and weightie, as in France, which the soile had brought forth without any tillage: and yet at this present it doth continue still to multiply every yeere. The said Iland containeth some halfe a league of circuit, and at the end of it on the Sea side, there is a Mount or small Hill, which is (as it wer) a little Ile severed from the other, where Monsieur de Monts his Cannon was placed: There is also a little Chappell built after the Savage fashion. At the foot of which Chappell there is such store of Muscles as is wonderful, which maybee gathered at low water, but they are small. [Without doubt Monsieur de Monts' company took all the large ones, leaving only the spawn and the young.

As to the exploits and occupations of our Frenchmen during the time spent there, we will touch upon that subject summarily when we shall have followed the return of the ships to France.

The expense of the sea-forces in an expedition such as Monsieur de Monts engaged in is so great that whoever undertakes one without a full strong box must expect to fail. To spare

expense one must suffer great inconvenience and even face necessitous conditions among an unknown people, and what is worse, in an untilled and forest covered country. This undertaking was the more praiseworthy because the great perils were evident; and yet the company went bravely forth to face Fortune, determined to overcome the obstacles that should present themselves.

Now when the ships would return to France, Monsieur de Monts would find himself in a dreary situation, with but one large boat and one small one. Promises of a return for him in the spring might be made, but who can presume to count upon the certainty of anything where Æolus and Neptune are concerned, two evil masters, furious, inconstant, pitiless. In such a situation Monsieur de Monts now found himself, not having received any such recompense from the King as had all those others (except only the Marquis de la Roche) whose voyages we have recounted. And yet Monsieur de Monts had accomplished more than all the others, never once relinquishing his hold. But at this point it seemed as if he must abandon all, to the disgrace and reproach of the French name, which, by such a proceeding, would be rendered ridiculous and a laughing stock before other nations.

There are some people willing to hinder the conversion of these poor western peoples and the promotion of the glory of God and our King; full of greed and jealousy, they would not give a sword stroke themselves in the service of His Majesty, nor suffer the least hardship for the honor of God, yet they wish to prevent a profit being obtained from the province sufficient for the actual establishment of such a work, even preferring that the English and Dutch should supersede the French and that the name of God should remain unknown in that region. And it is such people, who have no God, (for if they had they would show more zeal for his name,) who are given audience, who are believed, and who gain their cause.]

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Now let us prepare and hoise up sailes. Monsieur de Poutrincourt made the Voyage into these parts with some men of good sort, not to winter there, but as it were to seeke out his seate, and find out a Land that might like him. Which he having done, had no need to sojourne there any longer. So then the ships being ready for the returne, he shipped himselfe, and those of his companie, in one of them.

[About this time news reached this country of the wonderful things that were happening in Ostend, besieged already three years by the Princes of Flanders.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt's voyage was not without storms and great dangers. I wish to recount two or three of these adventures that can be classed as miracles, even though similar accidents at sea happen almost daily—yet in so saying I do not wish to obscure the special grace that God has always shown to these voyages.

The first of these perils came in the middle of the voyage when suddenly, in the night, a squall struck the sails with an impetuous violence that overturned the boat in such a way that the keel was on a level with the water and the sails floated on the surface.

There was no chance even to attempt to loosen or unfasten the guy-ropes. Then forthwith the sea became as on fire, a phenomenon which the sailors call "Saint Goudran's fire." As evil fortune would have it, in this extremity not a knife could be found with which to cut the ropes or the sails. The wretched boat remained in the position we have described, heaving up and down. Many of the men prepared to drink their last cup, when suddenly a fresh blast burst the sail into a thousand pieces useless forever after. Blessed sail, able by its ruin to save all those people. If it had been strong and new the danger would have been many times greater. But God often tries his own and conducts them even to the very threshold of death, that they may recognize his power and fear it.

The boat righted itself little by little and took again a position of safety.

The second disaster happened at Casquet, an uninhabited rock island, in the form of a casque, between France and England. When they were three leagues distant from this rock, a disagreement arose among the ship's masters, caused by jealousy (an evil that often ruins both men and affairs). One said that the rock could be easily "doubled," another said no, that they must deviate from the straight route to be able to pass above it. To add to the danger, fogs so obscured the light that they knew not the time of the day nor whether the tide was ebb or flood. Had it been flood, they could easily have doubled the rock, but it so happened that the sea was going out, and against the tide the ship could not reach the rock in time to pass over it while there was sufficient water. As they bore down upon it, they saw no hope of saving themselves, no possibility of preventing their being hurled against it. Then each one prayed to God, begged forgiveness of his neighbor, and gave himself up to bewailing his fate. At this point, Captain Rossignol (whose boat had been stolen in New France, as we have recounted,) drew a long knife with intent to kill Captain Timothée, commander of the present voyage. "You are not content with ruining me, you want now to destroy my life here," he cried. He was restrained and prevented from carrying out his wicked intention. In truth it was utter foolishness, madness rather, to attempt to take the life of a man in all probability about to die in any event, and when he himself faced the same danger. At last, just as they were about to strike the rock, Monsieur de Poutrincourt asked once more of the man at the main top if he saw no hope. The man replied, "None." Then Monsieur de Poutrincourt called for several to help him attempt to change the sails. Two or three came to his help, but already there was barely enough water in which to move the boat; when God in his grace came to their aid and turned the vessel from

this imminent disaster. Some had already taken off their jerkins, hoping to be able to save themselves by climbing on the rock. But this time they were spared all but their fright.

Some hours after the above adventure they approached a rock known as "Eagles' Nest," but in the dense fog they mistook it for a vessel which they feared to run foul of. However, once again they escaped, and arrived at last at their destination. Monsieur de Poutrincourt had left his arms and munition at the Island Sainte-Croix in care of Monsieur de Monts, as an earnest of his firm intention to return.

I may cite here one more marvelous escape of the vessel soon after its departure from Sainte Croix. In this event God showed them how he can turn an evil into a great good.

A certain thirsty fellow slipped stealthily down to the hold one night to drink his fill and replenish his bottle. He found plenty to drink, for the hold of the ship was half full of water. At his alarm every man jumped to the pumps. They discovered a large leak in the keel which they were able to stop up, the which they did with all speed.]

Chapter VI.

Building on the Island Sainte-Croix : Inconveniences endured by the Frenchmen there : Unknown illnesses : Complete discussion of these illnesses : of their causes : of the people most subject to them : of meats, bad water, air, wind, lakes, rotten dampness in woods, seasons : Disposition of the bodies of the young, the old : Advice of the author concerning the care of the health and cure of these sicknesses.

During the foresaid Navigation, Monsieur du Monts his people did worke about the Fort; which he seated at the end of the Iland, opposite to the place where he had lodged his Cannon. Which was wisely considered, to the end to command the River up and downe. But there was an inconvenience, the said Fort did lie towards the North, and without any shelter, but

of the trees that were on the Ile shoare, which all about he commanded to be kept, and not cut downe.

[Besides the fort there were the large and ample houses of the Swiss, and some small habitations forming, in all, a kind of suburb. There were also some cabins on the mainland near the river. Within the fort itself were Monsieur de Monts' quarters, built of wood in a handsome and ornamental style, with the flag of France floating above. In another part of the fort was the storehouse, in which reposed the lives and safety of all, built also of wood and covered with shingles. Opposite the storehouse were the houses of Messieurs d'Orville, de Champlain, Champdoré, and other notable personages. Opposite Monsieur de Monts' quarters was a covered gallery for exercise, either in work or play, during inclement weather.

Between the fort and the cannon platform the space was filled with gardens where every one willingly and gladly worked. All the autumn passed at this work. Indeed, it was no mean labor to build these lodgings and break the land before winter set in. For distraction they perused the gazette of a certain Master William. This gazette contained all sorts of news. Among other bits they came upon the information that Monsieur de Monts was "planting thorns" in Canada. We may truly say, on the contrary, that he was uprooting thorns, which is to refer but mildly to the fatigues, continued dangers, cares, and anxieties which he endured. But that character and courage which overcome all things make pinks and roses of such thorns for those who resolve upon heroic deeds that will rest in the memory of man and who shut their eyes to the pleasures of the carpet knights fit only to guard a chamber.]

The most urgent things being done, and hoary snowy Father being come, that is to say, Winter, then they were forced to keepe within doores, and to live every one at his own home: during which time, our men had three speciall discommodities in this Iland, videlicet, want of wood (for that which was in

the said Ile was spent in buildings), lacke of fresh water, and the continuall watch made by night, fearing some surprise from the Savages, that had lodged themselves at the foot of the said Iland, or some other enemie. For the malediction and rage of many Christians is such, that one must take heed of them much more than of Infidels. A thing which grieveth me to speake: would to God I were a lyar in this respect, and that I had no cause to speake it. When they had need of water or wood, they were constrained to crosse over the River, which is thrice as broad on every side, as the River Seine at Paris. It was a thing painfull and tedious, in such sort, that it was needfull to keepe the Boat the whole day, before one might get those necessaries. In the meane while the cold and snowes came upon them, and the Ice so strong, that the Sider was frozen in the vessels, and every one his measure was given him out by weight. As for Wine it was distributed but at certain dayes of the Weeke. Many idle sluggish companions dranke snow-water, not willing to take the paines to crosse the River. Briefly, the unknowne sicknesses like to those described unto us by James Quartier, in his Relation, assailed us. For remedies there was none to bee found.

In the meane while the poore sicke creatures did languish, pining away by little and little, for want of sweet meates, as Milke or spoon-meate for to sustaine their stomackes which could not receive the hard meates, by reason of let,¹ proceeding from a rotten flesh which grew and over-abounded within their mouthes; and when one thought to root it out, it did growe againe in one nights space more abundantly than before. As for the tree called Annedda, mentioned by the said Quartier, the Savages of these Lands knowe it not. So that it was most pitifull to behold every one, very few excepted, in this miserie, and the miserable sicke folkes to die, as it were full of life, without any possibilitie to be succoured. There died of this

¹ Let = a hindrance.

thirty six, and thirty six or forty more that were stricken with it recovered themselves by the helpe of the Spring, as soon as the comfortable season appeared. But the deadly season for that sicknesse is in the end of January, the moneths of February and March, wherein most commonly the sicke doe die, every one at his turne, according to the time they have begunne to be sicke: in such sort, that he which beganne to be ill in February and March, may escape, but he that shall over-haste himselfe, and betake him to his bed in December and January, he is in danger to die in February, March, or the beginning of Aprill.¹

[When Monsieur de Monts returned to France he consulted many physicians concerning this malady. It was entirely new to them. I do not remember that on our preceding voyage the apothecary had any prescription for such an illness. And yet I believe that Hippocrates knew of it, or at least of a sickness nearly approaching it. In his book *De internis affect.* he speaks of a certain malady where the abdomen, and afterwards the spleen, swell and harden. The patient suffers sharp pains, the skin becomes a pale black, resembling somewhat in color a green pomegranate. An unpleasant odor comes from the ears and gums, the latter separating themselves from the teeth. Pustules come on the legs; legs and arms become attenuated, etc.

Northern peoples are more subject to this sickness than are southern peoples. Witness the Dutch, the Frieslanders and their neighbors. The Dutch, in recounting their navigations, tell of a company that went to southern India, where several

¹ Cf. Book III, chap. 24. "Unknownne sickness, viz. the Scorbute or Scurvie, the greatest plague of Navigations and new plantations, where want of fresh diet and of bodily labour, or too much labour and watching, with grosse aires in the countries overgrowne with wood, or with marshes, bogs and unwholsome waters, are chiefe breeders thereof. The Author hath made a long discourse of this disease, the chiefe points whereof are here expressed for the benefit of our English Colonies in America, in which, I doubt not, many hundreds have hereby perished."—Note by Purchas.

among them were taken with this illness, as were also a number of those who went to the coast of Guinea—a perilous place where pestilential air is carried a hundred leagues out at sea. The same company, in 1606, when guarding the coast of Spain, were compelled to withdraw because of this sickness, after having thrown twenty-two of their dead into the sea.

We have also the testimony of Olaus Magnus¹ concerning the northern nations among whom he dwelt. This is his report: “There is,” he says, “an illness which afflicts and torments the sufferers. The arms and legs become thick with a certain pulposus flesh in which a seemingly putrified blood moves like wax between flesh and skin. A touch of the finger on the flesh leaves an impression; the teeth shake as if to fall out; the skin becomes blue. The sufferer lies in a torpor, and has a loathing for everything, including medicine. The sickness is called vulgarly in the language of the country, “Scorbut” (scurvy); in Greek *καχεξία*. Peradventure the cause of the putrid softness of the flesh is the eating of indigestible salt meats. The malady is no doubt aggravated by the cold dampness emitted from the walls. The disease would not become so formidable if the houses were lined with boards. Whenever it shows signs of continuance, it can be vanquished by taking every day a drink made of absinthe, and likewise a decoction of old beer with butter seems to strike at the very root of the matter.

The same author relates in another place another most remarkable fact. “At the beginning,” he says, “the siege was withstood with spirit, but after a time the soldiers weakened from the continual strain. Then by artifices and by cunningly devised tricks and ambushes they carried off the provisions of the besiegers, especially their lambs, which they led away and put to feed in the grassy plots about their houses. They feared that through lack of fresh meat they would fall ill of a malady, the worst of all sicknesses, known as ‘Scorbut’ (scurvy), that

¹ Book XVI, chap. 51.

is to say, a stomach broken and emaciated by cruel torments and long endured pain. Cold and indigestible foods, swallowed gluttonously, seem to be the cause of this sickness."

I take pleasure in quoting here the words of this author, for he speaks like a learned man, and depicts well the malady that attacked our people in New France, except that he does not mention the stiffening of the ham strings nor the growth of proud flesh in the mouth, which flesh always grows but the faster when one tries to remove it. He rightly calls it "a *broken* stomach."]

For Monsieur de Poutrincourt made a Negro to be opened, that died of that sicknesse in our Voyage, who was found to have the inward parts very sound, except the stomacke, that had wrinkles, as though they were ulcered.

[As to salt meats being the cause, it is very true, but there are other things that concur to promote and maintain this sickness, among which I would mention, in general, bad food, including under that term beverages; also secondly, the unhealthful air of the country; and finally a weakened condition of the body. I leave to physicians a more minute investigation of these facts. Hippocrates¹ remarks that the physician must take into careful consideration the seasons, the winds, the aspect of the sun, the water, the nature and situation of the land, the character of the people and their way of living and working.]

As for the food, this sicknesse is caused by cold meates, without juyce, grosse and corrupted. One must then take heed of salt meates, smoaky, musty, raw, and of an evill sent; likewise of dried fishes, as New-found-Land fish, and stinking Rayes: Briefly, from all melancholy meates, which are of hard digesting, are easily corrupted, and breed a grosse and melancholy bloud. I would not (for all that) bee so scrupulous as the Physicians, which doe put in number of grosse and melancholy meates,

¹ See Book, "De aere, aquis et loc."

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Beeves flesh, Beares, wild Boares and Hogs flesh (they might as well adde unto them Beavers flesh, which notwithstanding wee have found very good) as they doe amongst fishes the Tons, Dolphins, and all those that carrie water birds: for in being an over-curious observator of these things, one might fall into the danger of starving, and to die for hunger. They place yet among the meats that are to be shunned Bisket, Beanes and Pulse, the often using of Milke, Cheese: the grosse and harsh Wine and that which is too thin, white Wine, and the use of Vinegar: Beere which is not well sodden, nor well scunned,¹ and that hath not Hoppes enough. Also waters that runne thorow rotten wood, and those of Lakes and Bogges, still and corrupted waters, such as is much in Holland and Frizeland, where is observed that they of Amsterdam are more subject to Palsies and stifning of sinews, then they of Rotterdam, for the abovesaid cause of still and sleepy waters: which besides doe ingender Dropsies, Dysenteries, Fluxes, quartaine Agues, and burning Fevers, swellings, ulcers of the Lights, shortnesse of breath, ruptures of children, swelling in the veines, sores in the legges: finally, they wholly belong to the disease whereof we speake, being drawne by the Spleene, where they leave all their corruption.

Sometimes this sicknesse doth also come by a vice which is even in waters of running Fountaines, as if they be among or neere Bogges, or if they issue from a muddy ground, or from a place that hath not the Sunnes aspect. So Plinie² reciteth that in the Voyage which the Prince Cæsar Germanicus made into Germanie, having given order to his Armie to passe the River of Rhine, to the end to get still forward in the Countrie, he did set his campe on the Sea shoare, upon the coast of Frizeland, in a place where was but one onely Fountaine of fresh water to bee found, which notwithstanding was so pernicious,

¹ Scummed, skimmed?

² Book XXV, chap. 3.

that all they that dranke of it lost their teeth in lesse than two yeeres space, and had their knees so weake and disjoynted, that they could not beare themselves. Which is verily the sicknesse whereof wee speake, which the Physicians doe call *Στομακάκη*, that is to say, Mouthes sore; and *Σκελοτύρβη*, which is as much to say, as the shaking of thighs and legges. And it was not possible to finde any remedie, but by the meanes of an herbe called Britannica, or Scurvy grasse, which besides is very good for the sinews, against the sores and accidents in the mouth: against the Squinancie,¹ and against the biting of Serpents. It hath long leaves, drawing in colour a darke greene, and produceth a black roote, from which liquor is drawne, as well as from the leafe. Strabo sayth, that the like case happened to the Armie that Ælius Gallus brought into Arabia, by the commission of Augustus the Emperour. And the like also chanced to King Saint Lewes his Armie in Egypt, as the Lord de Joinville reporteth. Other effects of bad waters are seene neere unto us, to wit, in Savoy, where the women (more than men, because they are of a colder constitution) have commonly swellings in their throats, as bigge as Bottles.

Next to waters, the aire is also one of the Fathers and Ingenderers of this sicknesse, in boggy and watrish places, and opposite to the South, which is most often rainy. But there is yet in New France another bad qualitie of the aire, by reason of Lakes that be thicke there, and of the great rottennesse in the Woods, whose odour the bodies having drawne up, during the raines of Autumne and Winter, easily are ingendred the corruptions of the mouth, and swelling in the legges before spoken, and a cold entreth unsensibly into it, which benummeth the limbes, stifneth the sinews, constraineth to creepe with crutches,² and in the end to keepe the bed. And for as much as the winds doe participate with the aire, yea, are an aire run-

¹ Quinsy.

² “*Contraint d’aller à quatre piés avec deux potences.*”

ning with a more vehement force than ordinary, and in this qualitie have great power over the health and sicknesses of men, [let us speak briefly of these winds, yet without wandering too far from the thread of our story.

It is said that the east wind (called by the Latins "Subsolanus") is the most healthful of all, and for this reason wise builders face their houses toward the rising sun. The west wind, called "Favonius" or "Zephyr," is soft but disease-engendering. The south wind, called "Auster," is hot and dry in Africa: but in crossing the Mediterranean, it absorbs a great humidity which renders it stormy and unwholesome when it reaches Provence and Languedoc. The cold dry north wind (called "Boreas," "Bize," or "Tramontane") blows away the clouds and sweeps clear the aerial regions. It is considered next to the east wind in healthfulness.

But these qualities of the winds, so well known to the Latins, cannot be considered general for all the earth. South of the equator the north wind is not cold, nor the south wind hot. Travellers in Africa tell us of cooling south winds. There are regions in Peru (Lima and the plains about) where the north wind is unhealthful and enervating; and for five leagues along this coast the south wind is fresh and healthful and moreover never brings rain (writes the quaint Joseph Acosta¹) as it does in Europe. In Spain (says Acosta) the east wind, which we consider healthful, is unwholesome and weakening. In Norway the north-east wind, called *Circius*, is blustering and stormy, and does much damage on the western coasts. A traveller who ventures out in it must be prepared to meet his end and run the risk of suffocation. It is because of this cold rude wind that no trees, not even shrubs, grow on this coast, and the natives, in default of wood, cook over fires of fish bones.

We have discovered in New France that the north wind is not a healthful wind and the north-west winds (which are the

¹ Book III, chap. 3.

cold winds, rough, harsh, and stormy) are still worse. Our sick people and those who had wintered there the preceding year greatly dreaded these winds, because some one easily fell sick whenever this wind blew, at least they had some slight attack. Likewise we observe that always those subject to ruptures suffer much pain when the south wind is in the country. Even the animals feel the effects of the winds, and their actions often predict weather changes to us.]

This noisome qualitie of winde proceedeth (in my judgement) from the nature of the Countrie thorow which it passeth, which (as wee have said) is full of Lakes, and those very great, which bee (as it were) standing and still waters. Whereto I adde the exhalation of the rottennesse of woods, that this winde bringeth, and that in so much greater quantitie, as the North-west part is great, large and spacious.

The seasons are also to be marked in this disease, which I have not seene nor heard of, that it begins to worke, neither in the Spring time, Summer nor Autumne, unlesse it be at the end of it, but in Winter. And the cause thereof is, that as the growing heate of the Spring maketh the humours closed up in the Winter to disperse themselves to the extremities of the body, and so cleareth it from melancholy and from the noisome humors that have become gathered in Winter: so the Autumne, as the Winter approacheth, draweth them inward, and doth nourish this melancholy and blacke humor, which doth abound specially in this season, and the Winter being come sheweth forth his effects at the costs and grieffe of the poore patients.

[Galen¹ reasons thus: The fluids of the body, having been, as it were, parched out by the heat of summer, become forthwith cold and dry: cold because deprived of the summer's heat, dry because that heat has consumed all their humidity. For that reason maladies increase in the winter season, and the

¹ Comm. 35, Book I, de nat. hom.

longer they continue the less strength has the body to resist them. Too, the inclemency of the weather has much effect upon a body already indisposed, helping to make it a prey to the sicknesses which take full sway over it and are without pity.]

I would adde willingly to all the aforesaid causes the bad food of the Sea, which in a long voiage brings much corruption in mans body.

[For of necessity one must live on salt meats after four or five days out, or else carry live sheep and many fowls, and in any event there could never be enough of them but for the Captain and officers. (We had no fresh meat except as we killed it on the shores where we touched.) The sailors and passengers suffer as much from bread as from the meat and drink. The biscuits become spoiled and strong, the fish likewise; the water polluted. One who could have fresh meats and fruits, good bread, wines and soup, would need have no fear of this sickness unless his body was indeed unhealthy. When I consider that this illness, under similar conditions, is as prevalent in Holland, in Friesland, in Spain, and in Guinea, as in Canada, I am greatly inclined to believe that its cause is in the conditions named and it is in no way peculiar to New France.

It is most necessary to be in strong health when coming here. Those who have, as I may say, porous bodies that take in easily harmful vapors, who suffer from obstructions in the spleen, and those who have led a sedentary life, are particularly subject to this sickness. A physician might conclude from this that a studious man could not live in these parts, nor a man who suffers great fatigue from hard labor, nor the visionary minded, nor those subject to fêvers, nor any of that ilk, which in general I believe, for all such become melancholy and full of dark humors. Nevertheless I proved by myself and by others the exact contrary of all this, even in the face of the opinion of some of our people and of the Sagamore Membertou who was the prophet and magician of the savages. They pre-

dicted, upon my arrival, that I would never again see France, nor would Monsieur Boulet (formerly captain of Monsieur de Poutrincourt's regiment) who had fever a great part of the time (but he recovered). They advised our workmen to be careful not to overwork, which advice they were but too pleased to follow.

I may say in all truth that I never in my life performed so much physical labor. It was such a pleasure to cultivate the gardens, to enclose them against the gluttony of the hogs, to lay out flower beds and walks, to build cabins, to sow wheat, rye, barley and oats, to plant beans, peas and garden herbs and to water them. I wanted, by my own efforts, to see what this land would produce. Even the summer days were too short for me and often in the spring time I continued my work by moonlight.

As to work of the mind, I had it in plenty. Every evening, when the others, with their chattering, their noise and hubbub, had retired, I shut myself in my "study" and read and wrote. Then also Monsieur de Poutrincourt, our commander, asked me to give some hours of my time to the Christian teaching of our little colony, that we might not live like the beasts, but might be an example, in sort, to the natives. So each Sunday, and occasionally at other times, I taught them. Fortunately I had chanced to bring my Bible and some other books with me, otherwise such a commission might have been very onerous, and I should have been compelled to excuse myself. The work was not without fruit. Several among them bore witness that they had never heard so willingly the word of God and admitted they had never before known the principles of the Christian doctrine—(which is, in fact, the state to which the greater part of the Christian world has come.) But if there was edification on one side there was evil speaking on another, for with Gallic frankness I spoke openly the truth. Apropos of this enmity I remembered the words of the prophet Amos,

“They hate him that rebuketh in the gate, and they abhor him that speaketh uprightly.” But at the end we were all good friends.

During all this time, God gave me always good and perfect health. I had a taste for everything, was fresh and in good spirits, except perhaps once when, having slept in the woods near a stream when snow was on the ground, I experienced a cramp and had a sort of sciatica in the thigh for about a fortnight, without, however, in any way losing appetite. Thus I took pleasure in everything I did, and I wished with God’s blessing to devote my life to this work.

It would be too long for me to go into detail concerning the characteristics of individuals, but I will say that children are more subject than adults to the illnesses of the country. They have often ulcers in their mouths and on their gums, because of the poor tissues with which their bodies abound; also they have many disorders because of the irregularity of their living, their eating of quantities of fruit which seems never to satiate them but which gives them thin watery blood that the obstructed spleen cannot absorb. As to old people, their force is not sufficient to resist an illness, their low temperature being just what is necessary to promote disease. I do not wish to enter the domain of the physicians, fearing their rod of censure may fall upon me, yet, with their permission, and without meddling with their prescriptions of agaric, aloes, rhubarb, and other ingredients, I should like to give a little advice to the people who cannot send to Alexandria either for preventives or for cures.

It is an accepted truth that to correct a condition you must produce a contrary symptom.] This sickness proceeding from an indigestion of rude, grosse, cold and melancholy meates, which offend the stomacke, I thinke it good (submitting my selfe to better judgement and advice) to accompany them with good sawces, be it of Butter, Oyle, or Fat, all well spiced, to correct as well the qualitie of the meate, as of the bodie inward-

ly waxen cold. Let this be said for rude and grosse meates, as Beans, Pease, and fish: for he that shall eat good Capons, good Partridges, good Ducks, and good Rabets, may be assured of his health, or else his body is of a bad constitution. We have had some sick, that have (as it were) raised up from death to life for having eaten twice or thrice of a coolice¹ made of a Cocke; good Wine taken according to the necessitie of nature, is a soveraigne preservative for all sicknesses, and particularly for this. [Messieurs Macquin and Georges, honorable merchants of Rochelle, associates of Monsieur de Monts, furnished us forty-five casks for our voyage, which we appreciated greatly. And our ill ones, with mouths so sore they could not eat, never lost the taste for wine, which they could take from a tube. It saved several of them from death.]

The young buds of herbs in the Spring time be also very soveraigne.

[I experimented several times, gathering the herbs in the woods before our garden crops were grown. Always they gave taste to the sick ones and seemed to comfort their debilitated stomachs. I have heard that it did good to rinse the mouth with oil of vitriol and apply it to the growths about the teeth. I think that mineral waters would not be bad, and that to chew sage might do something to prevent this evil.

Some find it good to gargle frequently with lemon juice. It seems to me that it would not be a bad idea to bleed the patient under the tongue, or to scarify the fleshy growths, or apply some biting fluid. Also to cup the patient as they do in Switzerland and Germany.]

And as for that which concerneth the exterior parts of the body, we have found great good in wearing wooden Pantaphles, or Patins with our shooes, for to avoide the moistnesse. The houses neede no opening nor windowes on the North-west side,

¹ More often Cooley, from French *coulis*, a broth or gravy; in this case, chicken broth.

or the south. It is very good to have good bedding (and it was good for mee to have carried things necessary to this purpose) and above all to keepe himsefe neate. I would like well the use of hot baths, or of Stoves, such as they have in Germanie, by meanes whereof they feele no Winter, being at home, but as much as they please. Yea, they have of them in many places, in their Gardens, which doe so temper the coldnesse of Winter, that in this rough and sharpe season there one may see Orange-trees, Lymmon-trees, Fig-trees, Pomgranat-trees, and all such sorts of trees, bring forth fruit as good as in Provence. [I saw this at Bale at the house of the learned physician Felix Platerus. It would be easy to imitate in this country where wood abounds everywhere, (except in the country of the Armouchiquois, a hundred leagues beyond Port Royal.)

By clearing the land one might turn winter into summer in this country. If the land no longer possessed those great obstacles which hinder the sun from making love to it and filling it with warmth, there is no doubt at all that the climate would become temperate and most agreeable to us, for even at present neither the heat nor the cold is excessive.]

The Savages use sweatings often, as it were every moneth, and by this meanes they preserve themselves, driving out by sweate all the cold and evill humours they might have gathered. But one singular preservative against this perfidious sicknesse, which commeth so stealingly, and which having once lodged it selfe within us will not bee put out, is to follow the counsell of him that is wise amongst the wise, who having considered all the afflictions that man gives to himselfe during his life, hath found nothing better than to rejoyce himselfe, and doe good, and to take pleasure in his owne workes.¹ They that have done so, in our companie, have found themselves well by it: contrariwise some alwaies grudging, repining, never content, idle, have

¹ Eccles. III, 12.

beene found but by the same disease. True it is, that for to enjoy mirth it is good to have the sweetnesse of fresh meates, Fleshes, Fishes, Milke, Butter, Oyles, Fruits, and such like, which wee had not at will (I meane the common sort: for alwaies some one or other of the companie did furnish Monsieur de Poutrincourt, his Table with Wilde-fowle, Venison or fresh Fish). And if wee had halfe a dozen Kine, I beleeeve that no body had died there.

It resteth that a preservative, necessary for the accomplishment of mirth, and to the end one may take pleasure on the worke of his hands, is every one to have the honest companie of his lawfull wife: for without that, the cheere is never perfect; ones minde is alwaies upon that which one loves and desireth; there is still some sorrow, the body becomes full of ill humours, and so the sicknesse doth breed. And for the last and soveraigne remedie, I send backe the Patient to the tree of life (for so one may well qualifie it) which James Quartier doth call Anneda, yet unknowne in the coast of Port Royall, unlesse it bee peradventure the Sasafras, whereof there is quantitie in certaine places. And it is an assured thing, that the said tree is very excellent. But Monsieur Champlain, who is now in the great River of Canada, passing his Winter, in the same part where the said Quartier did winter, hath charge to finde it out, and to make provision thereof.

Chapter VII.

Discovery of new land by Monsieur de Monts: Fabulous tales of the river and pretended city of Norembega: Refutation of the authors who wrote those tales: Cod fish banks in Newfoundland: Kinibeki: Choüakoet: Malebarre: Armouchiquois: A Frenchman killed: Mortality among English in Virginia.

The rough season being passed, Monsieur de Monts, wearied with his bad dwelling at Sainte-Croix, determined to

seeke out another Port in a warmer Countrie, and more to the South: And to that end made a Pinnace to bee armed and furnished with victuals, to follow the coast, and discovering new Countries, to seeke out some happier Port in a more temperate aire. Hee made in this Voyage but about an hundred and twenty leagues, as wee will tell you now. From Sainte-Croix to sixty leagues forward, the coast lieth East and West: at the end of which sixty leagues is a River, called by the Savages Kinibeki. From which place to Malebarre it lieth North and South, and there is yet from one to the other sixty leagues, in right line, not following the Bayes. So farre stretcheth Monsieur de Monts his Voyage, wherein hee had for Pilot in his Vessel, Monsieur de Champdoré. In all this Coast so farre as Kinibeki, there are many places where shippes may bee harboured amongst the Ilands, but the people there is not so frequent as is beyond that: and there is no remarkable thing (at least that may bee seene in the outside of the Lands) but a River, whereof many have written fables one after another, [like those who upon the strength of the commentaries of Hanno, the Carthaginian Captain, have told of numerous cities built by him on that coast of Africa which is bathed by the ocean; because by a heroic effort he sailed to the islands of Cape Verde. For a long time after him no one sailed again that far, navigation not being safe on the great sea, as it is now by the aid of the mariner's needle.

Without introducing the stories of the earlier Spanish and Portuguese explorers,] I will recite that which is in the last Booke, intituled, *The universall Historie of the West Indies*, Printed at Douay the last yeere 1607, in the place where the author speaketh of Norombega: for in reporting this, I shall have also said that which the first have written, from whom the latter have had it.

Moreover, towards the North (sayth the Authour, after hee had spoken of Virginia) is Norombega, which is knowne well

enough, by reason of a faire Towne, and a great River, though it is not found from whence it hath his name: for the Barbarians doe call it Agguncia: At the mouth of this River there is an Iland very fit for fishing. The Region that goeth along the Sea, doth abound in fish, and towards New France there is great number of wilde beasts, and it is very commodious for hunting; the Inhabitants doe live in the same manner as they of New France.

If this beautifull Towne hath ever been in nature, I would faine knowe who hath pulled it downe: For there is but Cabins heere and there made with pearkes,¹ and covered with barkes of trees, or with skinnes, and both the River and the place inhabited is called Pemptegoët, and not Agguncia. The River (saving the tide) is not equal to our river of Oise. It would not be possible to have any large rivers on that coast, because there are not Lands sufficient to produce them, by reason of the great River of Canada, which runneth like this coast, East and West, and is not three-score leagues distant from that place in crossing the Lands. Moreover that River receives many Rivers falling from those parts which are towards Norombega: At the entrie whereof, it is so farre from having but one Iland, that rather the number thereof is almost infinite, for as much as this River enlarging it selfe like the Greek Lambda, Λ , the mouth of it is all full of Iles, whereof there is one of them lying very farre off (and the foremost) in the Sea, which is high and markable above the others.

But some will say that I equivocate in the situation of Norombega, and that it is not placed where I take it. To this I answer, that the Author, whose words I have a little before alleaged, is in this my sufficient warrant, who in his Geographi-call Mapp, hath placed the mouth of this River in the 44 degree, and his supposed Towne in the 45 degree, and as for any Towne, there is none. Now of necessity it must be this

¹ Poles.

river, because that the same being passed, and that of Kinibeki, (which is in the same hight) there is no other River forward, whereof account should be made, till one come to Virginia. I say furthermore, that seeing the Barbarians of Norombega doe live as they of new France, and have abundance of hunting, it must be, that their Province be seated in our new France; for fiftie leagues farther to the South-west there is no great game, because the woods are thinner there, and the Inhabitants settled, and in greater number then in Norombega.

[Tales grow with the telling. A certain sea-captain, named Jean Alphonse Xainetongeois,¹ relating his adventures, says that having passed the island Saint Jean (which I take for the one I have before mentioned as L'île de Bacillos) the coast turns to the west and west-southwest until it reaches the river "Norembegue," newly discovered (he says) by the Portuguese and Spanish. He says also that this river lies in the thirtieth degree, adding that at its entrance it has many islands, banks and rocks, and that at between fifteen or twenty leagues distance is built a large city, peopled with a small dark race (like the tribes found in India) dressed in skins of which they have an abundance of all kinds. There, he says, end the Banks of Newfoundland, and beyond this river the coast turns west and northwest for more than two hundred and fifty leagues, reaching a country where there are cities and castles. I believe there is no truth (or at least very little) in the accounts of this man. He may well call his voyages, "adventures," not for him who never went to a hundredth part of the places he describes, but for those who would like to follow the routes he lays down for sailors. For if the river "Norembegue" is in the thirtieth degree, it must be in Florida, which contradicts all those who have ever written of it, and Truth itself. As for what he says about the Bank of Newfoundland, it ends (so sailors say) near Sable Island at the extremity of Cape Breton.

¹ From Saintonge.

It is true there are banks called "Banquereau" and "Le Banc Jacquet," but they stretch but for five or six, or at the most ten leagues, and are entirely separated from the Grand Banks of Newfoundland. As to the people in Norembege, they are a fine race, tall in stature. The statement that beyond this river the coast turns west and west-northwest is without proof. South of Cape Breton to the point of Florida which looks toward the island of Cuba there is no coast which lies west-northwest except that of a part of the real river Norembege, which for about fifty leagues runs east and west. In fine, the whole account of the said Jean Alphonse I credit not at all, except his one statement that the river of which we speak has at its entrance many islands, banks, and rocks.]

The River of Norombega being passed, Monsieur de Monts went still coasting, untill he came to Kinibeki, where a River is that may shorten the way to goe to the Great River of Canada. There is a number of Savages Cabined there, and the land beginneth there to be better peopled. From Kinibeki going farther, one findeth the Bay of Marchin, named by the Captaine his name that commandeth therein. This Marchin was killed the yeare that we parted from New France, 1607. Farther is another Bay called Choüakoet, where (in regard of the former Countries) is a great number of people: for there they till the ground, and the region beginneth to be more temperate, and for prooffe of this, there is in this land store of Vines. Yea, even there be Ilands full of it (which be more subject to the injuries of the winde and cold) as we shall say hereafter. There is betweene Choüakoet and Malebarre many Bayes and Iles, and the Coast is sandy, with shallow ground, drawing neere to the said Malebarre, so that scarce one may land there with Barkes.

The people that be from Saint Johns River to Kinibeki (wherein are comprised the Rivers of Saint Croix and Norombega) are called Etchemins. And from Kinibeki as farre as

Malebarre, and farther, they are called Armouchiquois. They be traitors and theeves, and one had neede to take heede of them. [Monsieur de Monts stopped at Malebarre and while there provisions began to fail. He thought of returning, for the coast became more and more difficult, so that one could not pass by it without peril, on account of the low banks running so far out that the farther he went from land the less depth he found.

Just before leaving an accident happened which resulted in the death of a carpenter from St. Malo. The said carpenter took a kettle and started for water.] One of the Armouchiquois, seeing a good chance to snatch one of the kettles when the Malouin was not looking, seized it and ran away speedily with his booty. The Malouin, running after, was killed by this wicked people; and although the theefe had not received his just dues, it was useless to pursue after him, for all these Armouchiquois are as swift in running as Grayhounds; as we will yet further say in speaking of the voiage that Monsieur de Poutrincourt made in the same Country, in the yeare 1606.

[Monsieur de Monts regretted deeply the circumstance. His men wished to take vengeance, which they could easily have done, for they could lay low the natives with their muskets before they could possibly escape. Already each one had his gun cocked, sighting his man. But Monsieur de Monts, with a consideration for the savages which few in his place would have had, and because the murderers had escaped, ordered every man's firearm down, and left them, not having found there any place suitable for the desired dwelling-place. Monsieur de Monts then hoisted sail and set out to return to Sainte Croix, where he had left a number still sick of the winter's illness and concerning whom he was anxious.

Those who have had no experience may think the planting of a colony in an unknown country an easy matter. By reading the account of this voyage and the following ones, they will

come to think, I trust, that it is not so easily done as said. Monsieur de Monts accomplished a great deal this first year to have explored the coast as far as Malebarre, more than four hundred leagues in length, and to have visited all the remotest parts of the bays. Moreover he was charged with the labor of the lodgings which must be built and furnished, with the care for all those whom he had brought over and for their return to France; the chance too of some danger or shipwreck to those who had promised to come to seek for them the next year.

In vain may one run to and fro to seek a port where Fate will be pitiful. She is ever and always the same. It is fine to dwell in a pleasant climate, since there is an abundance of everything, and one has only to make a choice, but death pursues us everywhere.

I heard from a pilot in Havre who went to Virginia with the English some twenty-four years ago¹ that, in three months there, thirty-six of their number died. And yet Virginia is between the thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth degrees of latitude and has a good climate; all of which confirms my former opinion that such mortality is due to unwise treatment. From the beginning of a colony in such a country it is necessary to have domestic and tame cattle of every sort, and to plant and graft fruit trees, in order to have as soon as possible things needful to the health of those who desire to people a new land. When the natives are ill of the maladies of which we have spoken (which happens rarely) I attribute it to this same unwise living. They have nothing to offset any bad meats they may eat, and they are always naked among the damp vapors of the earth, which is the sure way to obtain the vile humors which cause them to have the same illnesses as the strangers who come to these parts, even though they are born to live in this fashion.

¹ That pilot must have been with Raleigh's colony on Roanoke.

There is always much illness during the building of new habitations, as experience has shown. The workmen are obliged to breathe the damp vapors of the earth as they uproot the trees, which vapors corrupt their blood and injure their stomachs (the same as workers in mines) and cause the aforesaid maladies. Experience has also shown that when once the land is settled these diseases have no longer such a hold on man.]

Chapter VIII.

Arrival of Monsieur du Pont at the Island of Sainte-Croix : Habitation transferred to Port Royal : Return of Monsieur de Monts to France : Difficulty with hand mills : Monsieur du Pont's equipment for exploring beyond Malebarre : Shipwreck : Foresight for the return to France : Comparison between these voyages and those to Florida : Blame for those who scorn to till the soil.

The Spring season being passed in the Voyage among the Armouchiquois, [Monsieur de Monts waited at Sainte-Croix the time agreed upon. If during this time he had no news from France, it was agreed that he should set out in search of some fishing vessel from Newfoundland in which possibly he, with his company, could return to France. The stated time for waiting having expired, he gave up hope of succor and fresh provisions, and prepared to set sail, when, on the fifteenth of June, 1605,] Monsieur du Pont, surnamed Gravé, dwelling at Honfleur, did arrive with a company of some forty men, for to ease the said Monsieur de Monts and his troope, which was to the great joy of all, as one may well imagine : and Canon shots were free and plentiful at the comming, according to custome, and the sound of Trumpets. The said Monsieur du Pont, not knowing yet the state of our French men, did thinke to find there an assured dwelling, and his lodgings ready : but considering the accidents of the strange sicknesse, whereof we have spoken, he took advice from a Council to change place. Mon-

sieur de Monts was very desirous that the new habitation had beene about 40 degrees, that is to say six degrees farther south then Sainte-Croix: but having viewed the Coast as farre as Malebarre, and with much paine, not finding what he desired, it was deliberated to goe and make their dwelling in Port Royall, untill meanes were had to make an ampler discovery. So every one began to packe up his things: That which was built with infinite labour was pulled downe, except the Storehouse, which was too great to be transported, and in executing of this, many voyages were made. All being come to Port Royal they found out new labours: the abiding place is chosen right over against the Iland, that is at the comming in of the River L'Esquille, (called today the river of the Dauphin) in a place where all is covered over and full of woods as thicke as possibly may be. The Moneth of September did already begin to come, and care was to be taken for the unlading of Monsieur du Pont his Ship, to make roome for them that should returne back into France. Indeed, there is worke enough for all. When the Ship was in a readinesse to put to sailes, Monsieur de Monts having seene the beginning of the new habitation, shipped himselfe for his returne with them that would follow him. Notwithstanding many of good courage (forgetting the griefes and labours passed) did tarry behinde, amongst whom were Monsieur Champlaine and Monsieur Champdoré, the one for Geographie, and the other for the conducting and guiding of the voiages that should be necessary to be made by Sea. [After the embarkation, Monsieur du Pont remained in command and with his natural promptness set to work to prepare lodgings for himself and his men, which was about all that could be done in that year in that country. There was not even a pretense of leaving the enclosure during the winter after so long and fatiguing a labour. If they did not work the land, I believe that they had no time suitable for cultivating it, for Monsieur du Pont was not a man to rest at

his ease nor to allow his men to be idle if there was a possibility for work.]

The Winter being come, the Savages of the Countrey did assemble themselves from farre to Port Royall, for to trucke with the Frenchmen, for such things as they had, some bringing Beavers skins and Otters (which are those whereof most account may be made in that place) and also Ellans or Stagges, whereof good buffe¹ can be made: Others bringing flesh newly killed, wherewith they made many good Tabagies, or feasts, living merrily as long as they had wherewithall. They never wanted any Bread, but Wine did not continue with them till the season was ended. For when we came thither the yeare following, they had beene about three Moneths without any Wine, and were very glad of our comming, for that made them to take againe the taste of it.

The greatest paine they had, was to grinde the Corne to have Bread, which is very painfull with hand-mils, where all the strength of the Body is requisite. [For this reason in olden times evil doers were threatened with the hand mill as the most painful punishment. History tells us that the poorest slaves were employed for this work before wind mills and water mills existed. In the Exodus of the people of Israel from Egypt we read in the last plague that God sent upon Pharaoh, "And Moses said, Thus saith the Lord, about midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt: and all the first born shall die, from the first born of Pharaoh that sitteth upon the throne, even unto the first born of *the maid-servant that is behind the mill.*"²] This labour is so great, that the Savages (although they be very poore) cannot beare it, and had rather to be without bread, then to take so much paines, as hath beene tried, offering them halfe of the grinding they should doe, but they choosed rather to have no corne. And I might well believe that the same, with other things, hath beene great meanes

¹ Buff-leather. ² Exodus, chap. xi, v. 4, 5.

to breede the sicknesse spoken of, in some of Monsieur du Pont his men: for there died some dozen of them that winter. True it is, that I finde a defect in the buildings of our Frenchmen, which is, they had no ditches about them, whereby the waters of the ground next to them did run under their lowermost roomes, which was a great hindrance to their health. I adde besides the bad waters which they used, that did not run from a quicke spring, which we had found not far from our Fort, but from the neerest brooke.

The winter being passed, and the Sea navigable, Monsieur du Pont would needes achieve the enterprise begun the yeare before by Monsieur de Monts, and to goe seeke out a Port more Southerly, where the ayre might be more temperate, according as he had in charge of the said Monsieur de Monts. He furnished then the Barke which remained with him to that effect. But being set out of the Port, and full ready, hoisted up sailes for Malebarre, he was forced by contrary winde twice to put backe againe, and at the third time the said Barke strake against the rocks at the entry of the said Port. In this disgrace of Neptune, the men were saved with the better part of provision and merchandise; but as for the Barke it was rent in peeces. And by this mishap the Voyage was broken, and that which was so desired intermitted. For the habitation of Port Royall was not judged good. And notwithstanding it is, on the North and North-west sides, well sheltered with Mountaines distant some one league, some halfe a league from the Port and the River L'Esquille. So we see how that enterprises take not effect according to the desires of men, and are accompanied with many perils. So that one must not wonder if the time be long in establishing of Colonies, specially in lands so remote, whose nature and temperature of aire is not knowne, and where one must fell and cut downe forests, and be constrained to take heed, not from the people we call Savages, but from them that tearme themselves Christians, and yet have but the name

of it, cursed and abominable people, worse then Wolves, enemies to God and human nature.

This attempt then being broken, Monsieur du Pont (having handcuffed Champdoré and made out information against him) knew not what to doe, but to await the coming of the succour and supply that Monsieur de Monts promised, parting from Port Royall at his return into France, to send him the yeare following. Yet for all events he built another Barke and a Shallop for to seeke French Ships in the places where they use to dry fish, such as Campseau Port, English Port, Misamichis Port, the Bay of Chaleur, the Bay of Morves or Coddés, and others in great number, according as Monsieur de Monts had done the former yeare, to the end to Ship himselfe in them, and to returne into France, in case that no Shippe should come to succour him.

[In this he acted wisely for he was in danger of having no news from us who were destined to follow after him, as will be seen from the account following.

We must admit that those who participated in these voyages had an advantage over those who went to Florida in that they could hope for help from the French vessels that kept coming to the New World, and had less need to build large ships, and were in less danger of dire famine such as has cursed many wretched voyagers and others also by reason of the maladies that have overwhelmed them. However, those in Florida were fortunate in having more fertile land and a milder climate more friendly to health than that of northern New France. If they in Florida suffered from famine their misery was due to some great error of their own, in that they did not cultivate the land which they found already cleared for them, the thing first of all to be done by those obliged to live far from a source of supplies. But to-day the French people, as also nearly all the other nations (I mean those not born to hard labor), have the pernicious idea that they debase themselves by taking part in

the tilling of the soil, which occupation is however about the only guileless one remaining to man. Hence every one shuns this noble work, practised by our forefathers, (and which Kings and the mightiest Captains did not scorn,) and wish to be gentlemen at the expense of others. They desire no more arduous work than outwitting their fellow men and passing their days scratching themselves in the sun.

In consequence God in his justice has taken his blessing from us and has punished us to-day and for a long time past with a rod of iron. Our people everywhere languish, and France itself is peopled with beggars and scoundrels of all sorts—not counting the multitudes who groan in secret and hate to let their poverty be known.]

Chapter IX.

Consent of Monsieur de Poutrincourt to undertake a voyage into New France in company with the author: Departure from Paris for Rochelle: Adieu to France.

About the time of the before mentioned Shipwreck, Monsieur de Monts, being in France, [thought of fitting out a new expedition for New France. It was a difficult undertaking not only because of the great expense entailed, but also because the country had been so decried at the time of his return that it seemed to many a vain and unfruitful thing to attempt any continuance of voyages there. Monsieur de Monts had every reason to believe that he would find no one to hazard with him another attempt. Nevertheless] knowing Monsieur de Poutrincourt his desire (to whom already he had made a grant of land under the powers conferred upon him by the King) to set up his habitation there and to establish there his family and his fortune and the glory of God all together, he wrote unto him, and sent a man for the purpose of inviting his interest in the Voyage that was in hand.

Which the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt accepted of, [leaving all his affairs for this purpose, though he had in hand several lawsuits of consequence, for the pursuance of which his presence was most necessary. During his absence on his first voyage, he experienced the malice of those who persecuted him rigorously while he was away, and who became compliant and dumb upon his return.]

He was no sooner come to Paris, but that he was forced to set forth, not having scarce time to provide for things necessary. And I having had that good hap to be acquainted with him some yeares before, he asked me if I would take part in that businesse?

[I asked a day of reflection before giving my answer. After taking deep counsel with myself, I desired not so much to know this new country, as to see with my eyes the land toward which my spirit drew me, and to flee from a land corrupt. So I gave my word. I was influenced also by an injustice that had been done me some while before for which reparation was made upon my return—by decree of the Court, and for which reparation I am particularly indebted to Monsieur Seruin, Royal Avocat-General, to whom rightly belongs that eulogy attributed according to the inscription to the wisest and most magnificent of all kings, “Thou lovest righteousness and thou hatest wickedness.”¹ Often by such means God quickens us to perform generous actions like these voyages, which (as the world sees differently) some will blame and others praise. But being responsible to no one in this matter, I recked little of the idle talk of lazy folks, or of those who were unable or unwilling to aid me in such an enterprise. I had contentment within myself, and I was ready to serve God and my King in the lands beyond the sea which would bear the name of France, should Fortune or Fate bear me thither. I desired to live in those lands a peaceful life filled with congenial work and to

¹ Ps. XLV, v. 7.

escape from the hard existence to which I saw most of my fellow men reduced.

To return to Monsieur de Poutrincourt. Among his many occupations he gave much time to the search for some intelligent priest to take with him—who would assist the one left in the new land by Monsieur de Monts in his first voyage, and whom we hoped to find alive. But it was holy week, time occupied with confessions, and no priest offered himself. Some, when asked, excused themselves because of the inconveniences of the sea and the long voyage; others wished to put off a decision until after Easter. So it happened that no one of them could be enticed away from Paris. Meanwhile time pressed, for the sea waits for no man, and it was necessary to set out.

It was of course most necessary to find workmen for the expedition to New France. In Monsieur de Poutrincourt's name it was possible to obtain more than we could take. The men were hired, and money was advanced to each one out of their wages to take them to Rochelle, where they were to meet us at a certain time at the house of Messieurs Macquin and Georges (who furnished our equipment), honorable merchants of the above mentioned city and associates of Monsieur de Monts. This humble company having started, we ourselves set out for Orleans three or four days later, on Good Friday, there to receive the Easter sacrament as becomes good Christians, and also the spiritual viaticum of the divine communion, as we were to go on a voyage.

During the journey to la Rochelle I was sometimes by myself apart from the company. At one of these times the desire came to me to write in verse upon my tablets an "Adieu à la France." I had the poem printed in the said city of la Rochelle the day after our arrival there, which was the third day of April, in the year 1606. It was received by the people with so much approval that I venture to reproduce it here.

Adieu A La France

Ores que la saison du printemps nous invite
 A seillonner le dos de la vague Amphitrite,
 Et cingler vers les lieux où Phœbus chaque jour
 Va faire tout lassé son humide sejour,
 Je veux ainsque partir dire Adieu à la France
 Celle qui m'a produit, & nourrit dès l'enfance ;
 Adieu non pour toujours, mais bien sous cet espoir
 Qu'encores quelque jour ie la pourray revoir.
 Adieu donc douce mere, Adieu France amiable :
 Adieu de tous humains le sejour delectable :
 Adieu celle qui m'a en son ventre porté,
 Et du fruit de son sein doucement allaité.
 Adieu, Muses aussi qui a vôte cadence
 Avez conduit mes pas dés mon adolescence :
 Adieu riches palais, Adieu nobles cités
 Dont l'aspect à mes yeux mille fois contentés :
 Adieu lambris doré, saint temple du Justice,
 Où Themis aux humains d'un penible exercice
 Rend le Droit, & Python d'un parler eloquent
 Contre l'oppression defend l'homme innocent.
 Adieu tours & clochers dont les pointes cornues,
 Avoisinans les cieux s'elevent sur les nuës :
 Adieu prez emaillez d'un million de fleurs
 Ravissans mes esprits de leurs soüeves odeurs :
 Adieu belles forets, Adieu larges campagnes,
 Adieu pareillement sourcilleuses montagnes :
 Adieu côtaux vineux, & superbes chateaux :
 Adieu l'hôneur des châps, verdure & gras troupeaux
 Et vous, ô ruisselets, fontaines & rivieres,
 Qui m'avez délecté en cent mille manieres,
 Et mille fois charmé au doux gazouillement
 De vos bruyantes eaux, Adieu semblablement.
 Nous allons recherchans dessus l'onde azurée
 Les journaliers hazars du tempeteux Nerée,
 Pour parvenir aux lieux où d'une ample moisson
 Se presente aux Chrétiens une belle saison.
 O combien se prepare & d'honneur & de gloire,
 Et sans cesse sera louable la memoire

A ceux-là qui poussez de sainte intention
Auront le bel objet de cette ambition !
Les peuples à jamais beniront l'entreprise
Des Auteurs d'un tel bien : & d'une plume apprise
A graver dans l'airain de l'immortalité
J'en laisseray memoire à la posterité.
Prelats que Christ a mis pasteurs de son Eglise,
A qui partant il a sa parole commise,
A fin de l'annoncer par tout cet Univers,
Et à sa loy ranger par elle les pervers,
Sommeillez vous, hélas ! Pourquoy de vôtre Zele
Ne faites vous paroître une vive étincelle
Sur ces peuples errans qui sont proye à l'enfer,
Du sauvement déquels vous devriez triompher ?
Pourquoy n'employez vous à ce saint ministere
Ce que vous employez seulement à vous plaire ?
Cependant le troupeau que Christ a racheté
Accuse devant lui vôtre tardiveté.

Quoy donc souffrirez vous l'ordre du mariage
Sur vôtre ordre sacré avoir cet avantage
D'avoir eu devant vous le desir, le vouloir,
Le travail, & le soin de ce Chrétien devoir ?

DE MONTS tu és celui de qui le haut courage
A tracé lechemin à un si grand ouvrage :
Et pource de ton nom malgré l'effort des ans
La feuille verdoyra d'un eternel printemps.
Que si en ce devoir que l' ay des-ja tracé
Ambitueusement ie ne suis devancé
Je veux de ton merite exalter la louange
Sur l'Equille, & le Nil, & la Seine, & le Gange.
Et faire l'Univers bruire de ton renom,
Si bien qu'en tout endroit on revere ton nom.
Mais ie ne pourray pas faire de toy memoire,
Qu'a la suite de ce ie ne courbe en l'histoire
Celui duquel ayant conu la probité
Le seus & la valeur & la fidelité,
Tu l'as digne trouvé à qui ta lieutenance
Fût seurement commise en la Nouvelle-France.
Pour te servir d'Hercule, & soulager le fait
Qui te surchargerait au dessein que tu fais.

POUTRINCOURT, c'est donc toy qui as touché mon ame,
 Et lui as inspiré une devote flamme
 A celebrer son los, & faire par mes vers
 Qu'à l'avenir ton nom vole par l'Univers :
 Ta valeur dès long temps en la France conuë
 Cherche une nation aux hommes inconuë
 Pour la rendre sujette à l'empire François,
 Et encore y assoir le thrône de noz Rois :
 Ains plutot (car en toy la Sagesse eternelle
 A mis ie ne sçay quoy digne d'une ame belle)
 Le motif qui premier a suscité ton coeur
 A si loin rechercher un immortel honneur,
 Est le Zele devot & l'affection grande
 De rendre à l'Eternel une agreable offrande,
 Lui voüant toy, tes biens, ta vie, & tes enfans,
 Que tu vas exposer à la merci des vents,
 Et voguant incertain comme à un autre pole
 Pour son nom exalter & sa sainte parole.
 Ainsi tous-deux portés de même affection :
 Ainsi l'un secondant l'autre en intention,
 Heureux, vous acquerrés une immortele vie,
 Qui de felicité toujours sera suivie :
 Vie non point semblable à celle de ces dieux
 Qui l'antique ignorance a feinte dans les cieux
 Pour avoir (comme vous) reformé la nature,
 Les moeurs & la raison des hommes sans culture,
 Mais une vie où git cette felicité
 Que les oracles saints de la Divinité
 Out liberalement promis aux saintes ames
 Que le ciel a formé de ses plus pures flammes.
 Tel est vôtre destin & cependant ça bas
 Vôtre nom glorieux ne craindra le trepas.
 Et la posterité de vôtre gloire éprise
 Sera emeuë à suivre une même entreprise,
 Mais vous serez le centre où se rapportera
 Ce que l'age futur en vous suivant fera.
 Toy qui par la terreur de ta sainte parole
 Regis à ton vouloir les postillons d'Æole,
 Qui des flots irritez peux l'orgueil abbaïsser,
 Et les vallons des eaux en un moment hausser,

FRENCH EXPLORERS: L'ESCARBOT

Grand Dieu sois nôtre guide en ce douteux voyage,
Puis que tu nous y as enflammé le courage :
Lache de tes thresors un favorable vent
Qui pousse nôtre nef en peu d'heure au Ponant,
Et fay que là puissions arrivez par ta grace
Jetter le fondement d'une Chrétienne race.

Pour m'egayer l'esprit ces vers ie composois
Au premier que ie vi les murs des Rochelois.]

Chapter X.

“Jonas,” the name of our ship : Low tide causes difficult departure from la Rochelle : La Rochelle Protestant city : Common people insolent : Peasants : Accident to the Jonas : New equipment : Weak soldiers should not be placed at the frontiers : Ministers pray for conversion of heathen : Little zeal among ours : Eucharist carried by early Christians on voyages : Diligence of Monsieur de Poutrincourt at the moment of embarkation.

Being come to Rochell, we found there Monsieur de Monts, and Monsieur de Poutrincourt, that were come in Poste, and our Ship called the Jonas, of the burthen of one hundred and fiftie tons, ready to passe out of the chaines of the Towne, to tarry for winde and tide. The tyde I say, because that a great Ship laden, cannot come to sea from Rochell, but in spring tydes, upon the new and full Moone, by reason that in the Towne roade there is no sufficient depth.

[There we held high festival ; indeed we were so feasted that we began to long for the fast of shipboard. And fast it was, for, as we will relate later, it was two months before we had a sight of land. The workmen during all this rejoicing (they had their twenty sous a day) kept up a tremendous hubbub in the St. Nicolas quarter where they were lodged. That kind of proceeding was considered indeed strange in such an exemplary city as la Rochelle, where no dissolute conduct is permitted to appear and where each one walks with his eyes straight ahead

if he wishes not to incur the censure of the mayor and the clergymen of the city. So it happened that several of our men were made prisoners and kept in the City Hall until time for them to depart with the ship. They would have been punished, but were spared on account of their impending voyage, where they would have no easy time. They paid a sufficient penalty for their foolishness in the obligations which they incurred to the worthy Messieurs Macquin and Georges, citizens of that town, for holding them to their duty. Not all of the workmen were of this sort, however; there were among them those orderly and respectful. I must say, however, that the laboring man of the lower class is a strange animal. Apropos of this I recall the war of the Croquans,¹ among whom I found myself one time in Quercy. It was a curious sight, the wooden-shod crowd (from which shoes, by the way, they have their name of "Croquans," for their sabots, loosely fastened in the front and in the back, make a sound of "croc, croc" at every step). They were a confused mass of beings, listening neither to rime nor reason; armed, some with hooks at the end of long sticks, others with rusty swords and weapons of like sort.

Our Jonas had taken aboard her entire load and been towed to the roadstead outside of the city, ready to set sail the eighth or ninth of April. Captain Foulques had been put in command. But with a negligence not unusual among men, the Captain (who later proved himself strong and vigilant on the sea) left the ship loosely guarded, neither he himself nor the pilot aboard, only six or seven sailors of indifferent quality. It so happened that a strong wind from the southeast came up in the night, broke the cable of the only anchor by which the Jonas was held, and dashed the ship against the jetty of the chain tower so many times that the ship was broken and almost sunk. Fortunately the tide was going out. If this had hap-

¹ Name given to the revolted peasantry of Guienne in 1594. Hatzfeld and Darmesteter derive the name from Croquer, to crunch (with the jaws), to eat like animals.

pened at high tide, the ship would probably have been upset, with a loss much greater than that which was actually incurred. The ship did remain upright and it was possible to repair the leak, which was done with all speed. The laborers were ordered to come to our help in this hour of need, either to work the pumps or to turn the capstan or to do other things; but only a few responded to the call of duty; the most part took the matter jestingly. Some waded out to the boat in the mud and then returned saying water had been dashed on them by other workmen aboard, they not having sense enough to know that they had approached from the side where the wind scattered the water from the pumps.

I, with several others willing to help, went out to the boat with Monsieur de Poutrincourt, where we were by no means idle. All la Rochelle was on the rampart to see the spectacle. The sea was still rough and we feared to be again dashed against the great towers of the city walls, but we at last got safely into dock. The boat was emptied completely and it was necessary to equip it entirely anew. The loss was great and we feared that the voyage would have to be abandoned.]

I believe, that after so many trials, none would have ventured to goe plant colonies in those parts, that Countrey being so ill spoken of that every one did pittie us, considering the accidents happened to them that had been there before. Notwithstanding Monsieur de Monts and his associates did beare manfully this losse.

[I am here constrained to say that if ever this country is peopled with Christian and civilized nations it will (with all due credit to the King) be to the authors of this voyage that will belong first praise.

This disgraceful accident retarded us more than a month, which was spent in unloading no less than in refitting our boat. During this time we visited the neighboring villages about la Rochelle—especially Cordeliers, but a half league dis-

tant. There one Sunday I attended a sermon. I was greatly surprised to find these frontier places so little guarded, considering how near to them are powerful enemies. And since I am recounting facts as they are, let me say that it seems to me a shameful thing that the clergymen of La Rochelle in their assemblies pray to God every day for the conversion of the heathen people and even for our expedition, and that our priests do nothing of the sort. In truth we had asked neither party for their prayers, but the facts show where the zeal was.

A little while before our departure I asked the curate or vicar of the Church of la Rochelle if he could not find some brother to accompany us. I had thought it an easy matter, for the order was numerous there and living in a maritime city I had thought would predispose them to travel on the ocean. But not a priest could I obtain. They said that to undertake such a voyage one must feel especially called by a great zeal and piety; that I would do better to address myself to the Jesuit Fathers, the which I could not do in the time that remained, for our boat was about loaded.

Apropos of this incident I am reminded of Monsieur de Poutrincourt's experience upon his return from his first voyage. He was at court, and there was asked by a Jesuit priest of the court what progress toward the conversion of the people of New France could be hoped for, and how great was their number. To which Monsieur de Poutrincourt replied that there were at least one hundred thousand souls to be won for Jesus Christ, a low estimate. The good father replied, "No more than that!" as if he considered such a number not sufficiently large to keep a man busy. Surely if there were only the hundredth part of that, or even still less, they ought not to be abandoned to perdition. The Good Shepherd himself, having one sheep lost from his hundred, left the ninety and nine to seek that one.¹ We are taught (and I so believe) that our

¹ Matt., chap. xviii, v. 12, 13.

Saviour Jesus Christ would not have disdained one lost man but would have come to save him as well as all the world, and we may not consider of little importance these poor peoples though they swarm not in numbers as those of Paris or Constantinople.

Seeing that I had no success in obtaining a priest to administer the Sacraments to us, either on sea or land, I was reminded of the custom of the early Christians who carried with them on their voyages the holy bread of the Eucharist, for they could have no hope of finding a priest to give them the sacrament, as the world was then chiefly pagan or heretical. Indeed the word "Viaticum" was most appropriate, for it went with them upon their travels; nevertheless I am of the opinion that the original intention of the name was spiritual. Knowing that we faced the same necessities as they, (having left but one priest in the New France, of whose death we learned upon our return,) I asked if we might not adopt the same custom as the early Christians who were less intelligent than we were. But I was told that it was permissible in those days for considerations that no longer held. I reminded the priests that Satyeus, the brother of Saint Ambrose, took with him this spiritual medicine when he went upon the sea, as we read in his funeral oration written by Saint Ambrose himself. He says the holy bread was carried in an "*orario*," which I take to be a linen or silken wrapping. And surely it was of much benefit to him, for when he met with disaster he was able to save himself on a stave from the wreck of his boat. But I was no more harkened to after citing this example than before. I was greatly astonished by the whole matter. It seemed to me a most untoward circumstance that we should be in a worse state than the early Christians. Is the Eucharist a thing different now from what it was then? If they held it precious, do we make less account of it?

But to return to our Jonas. It was loaded and again towed

to the roadstead outside of the city. Nothing now lacked but tide and a wind, but just there lay the difficulty. For in shallow waters, as at la Rochelle, one must wait for the high tides of the new and full moons, and if then, peradventure, there is no favorable wind another wait of a fortnight is entailed, and meantime the season for voyaging passes.

When we were at last made ready, after so many hardships and at such costs, here we stayed held by an unfavorable wind and a waning moon. Captain Foulques seemed to lose interest in his charge and no longer stayed aboard the ship. It was rumored that he was besought by merchants other than those associated with Monsieur de Monts to break up the enterprise, and perhaps he did not get along well with those who engaged him for the work. Monsieur de Poutrincourt, seeing this, took upon himself the captainship, and installed himself aboard to be ready to take advantage of the first wind. At last on the eleventh of May, 1606, by the favor of a slight breeze from the East he gained the sea and conducted our Jonas to La Palisse, and on the morrow, the twelfth day of May, came to Chef-de-bois (places where ships have protection from the ocean winds), and there the hope of New France assembled. I say its Hope, for upon this expedition depended entirely the success or the failure of the colony.]

Chapter XI.

Departure from La Rochelle : Meeting with different ships : Pirates : Tempestuous sea at the Azores : Cause : Why westerly winds prevail on the ocean : From whence come the winds : Porpoises prognosticate storms : Ways of taking porpoises : Storms : Their effects : Calms : Squalls : How they form : Their effects : Assurance of sailors : Saluting a royal ship : Calculation of distance : Sea warm, then cold : Reason of this : Icebergs of Newfoundland.

The Saturday, Whitson Eve, the thirteenth of May, we weied our anckers, and sailed in open Sea, so that by little and

little we lost the sight of the great Towers and Towne of Rochell, then of the Iles of Rez and Oleron, bidding France fare-well. It was a thing fearefull for them that were not used to such a dance, to see them carried upon so moveable an element, and to be at every moment (as it were) within two fingers breadth of death. We had not long sailed, but that many did their endeavour to yeelde up the tribute to Neptune. In the meane while we went still forward, for there was no more going backe, the planke being once taken up. The sixteenth of May we met with thirteene Holanders, going for Spaine, which did inquire of our voiage, and so held their course.

[Then we were an entire month with a sight of nothing outside of our floating village but sky and water, except that near the Azores we met one ship filled with Dutch and English. They came alongside, and according to custom we asked them from whence they were. They replied that they were Newfoundlanders, that is codfishers on their way to Newfoundland, and asked if we would like their company, for which proposal we thanked them. They then drank to our health and we to theirs and they steered away. We decided from the aspect of their boat, green with moss on the hulk and sides, that they were pirates that had been riding the waves many a day in search of prey.

It was about that time that Neptune's sheep (as the white waves that an agitated ocean throws up are called) began to jump in earnest and we felt the rude thrusts of his trident.

The sea is always tempestuous in this place. If asked the cause I would say the conflict of the eastern and western winds which meet in this part of the sea. Especially is this true in summer when the western winds blow with force over a large part of the sea until they meet the eastern resisting winds. It is not well to find oneself at one of these meeting places. This cause seems to me the more probable because of our exper-

ience. Until we reached the region of the Azores we had a favorable wind, then winds southwest and northwest—dead ahead, seldom north or south which would have been favorable for sailing close to the wind. A direct easterly wind we had only once or twice and then it was of short duration. It is certain that westerly winds prevail on this ocean, either because of a certain deflection of the easterly winds which blow with force south of the equator, and of which we have before¹ spoken, or because of the great expanse of this western land over which the wind comes, and it is greatest in the summer time when the sun has the power of drawing the vapors from the earth.

For the winds come from the caves and caverns of the land, though the poets claim that *Aeolus* keeps them in a prison, letting them out at his pleasure to rage over the land. But the Holy Spirit confirms us the more strongly in this opinion when by the mouth of the prophet it says that Almighty God, among other wonders, brings the winds out from among his treasuries,—which are the caves of which I spoke. The word “treasury” means in Hebrew a secret and hidden place.

“He causeth the vapors to ascend from the ends of the earth: he maketh lightnings for the rain; he bringeth the wind out of his treasuries.”²

“Des recoins de la terre, où ses limites sont,
Les pesantes vapeurs il souleve en amont,
Il change les eclairs en pluvieux ravages,
Tirant de ses thresors les vents & les orages.”

These same continual westerly winds that we observed were one of the considerations that led the Genoese Christopher Columbus to conclude that a large continent lay to the west.

As we went on we encountered more and more tempests. Our suffering so many contrary winds was due to our setting sail so late in the season. Those who sail in March have

¹ Book II, chap. iv. ² Ps. 134 (Heb. 135), v. 7.

nearly always good weather, the winds blowing at that season ordinarily from the east, northeast and north. Often the storms were presaged by the porpoises that surrounded our ships by thousands, playing among themselves in a most amusing manner. Some among them met misfortune by approaching too close, for there were always sailors watching for them under the bowsprit (at the prow of the boat), spears in hand. A number of porpoises were harpooned and with the help of other sailors brought aboard by means of boat-hooks. In this manner we took many of them going and coming, and it was by no means an ill service to us.

This animal has about two fingers of fat along its back. When cut open we bathed our hands in its warm blood, which is said to be excellent for the nerves. The porpoise has a marvelous quantity of teeth the whole length of its mouth. It must hold well to anything once in its jaws. Its flesh has exactly the taste of pork. Its bones are not like those of a fish but like a quadruped. The most delicate part is the crest of its back and its tail, which is neither like that of flesh nor of fish but better than either. So also, speaking of tails, is that of the beaver, which seems to be scaly. These porpoises were the only fish we caught before reaching the cod banks, but in the distance we saw other enormous fish; the surface of their backs above the water must have measured half an acre and they spouted into the air large streams of water more than two lance-lengths in height from the blow-holes and orifices in their heads.

To return to our storms. We had some that compelled us to lower sails and wait with arms folded while the waves buffeted us and carried us whither they would. If some chest happened to be poorly moored (I like to use the nautical term) it careered about the ship, making an unholy uproar. Several times the dinner pot was upset, and while eating, our plates, if they were not held fast, shot about from one end of the table

to the other. To drink we had to take care to bring the glass to our mouths with the motion of the ship. It was, in short, rude amusement for those who could not well support a rigorous shaking up. Most of us, however, could laugh; and we felt no danger in our strong ship built especially to withstand just such waves.

Then sometimes we had irksome calms. We could bathe in the sea at such times, and we danced on the deck and climbed to the main-top singing the while. But when we saw a speck of cloud on the horizon we left our amusements with all speed. We were ever on the lookout for one of those sudden squalls which often let themselves loose upon us, muttering, rumbling, blustering, roaring, whistling, hissing, ready to turn our boat upside down if there were not ready hands to execute the captain's orders. The beforementioned Captain Foulques proved himself a watchful officer.

We know the cause and place of the origin of these squalls or tempests. Pliny speaks of them in his *Natural History*.¹ He says they are formed by vapors rising from the earth until they meet a region of cold air which they are not able to pass, and so are compelled to return downward. Also at times these vapors from the earth meet sulphurous and igneous vapors which surround and press in upon them. There ensues a battle royal between the sulphurous heat and the aetherial moisture which is forced by its stronger enemy to flee. It expands and fills the sky, and whistles, roars, storms, in short produces a gale which is great or small in proportion as the sulphurous vapor that surrounds it breaks away and makes an opening for it, sometimes all at once as we have seen, sometimes with more delay, according to the quantity of the substance of which it is composed and according to the degree of agitation among the conflicting elements.

I cannot but mention the marvelous assurance of experienced

¹ Pliny, Book II, chapter xlviii.

sailors during these squalls, cyclones, and tempests. With the boat traveling up mountains of water and then sliding to the depths of profound abysses, they climb the ropes, not only to the maintop but, without footholds, to the other masts branching out from it, holding themselves only by the strength of their arms and their feet twisted around the ropes. Moreover if during a storm the mainsail (which they call Paphil or Papefust) rips loose from the top, the first man commanded to do so puts himself a-straddle the mainyard and with a hammer at his belt and a half dozen nails in his mouth, risking a thousand perils, fastens the loosened sail to its place.

I once heard a story of the boldness of a Swiss, who, after the siege of Laon, when the city was returned to the King, climbed in his joy to the cross on the bell-tower of the Church of Our Lady at that place and suspended himself from it, feet up, like a forked tree, which action was very bold.

The story is also told of one who did the same from the spire of the Strasburg Cathedral, which is higher than that of Laon.

But all those feats are as nothing, in my mind, to those of our brave sailors. The Swiss and the Strasburger performed their exploits on a solid body without movement, while our sailors were on a rolling ship on a raging sea.

After we passed the pirates we were blown about by contrary winds until the eighteenth of June, during which time we sighted but one and that a far distant ship. Though we could not hail it, the sight was a comfort. On the above date we met a ship from Honfleur, commanded by Captain La Roche, on its way to Newfoundland. They had had better fortune on the sea than we. When a private vessel meets a royal ship (as ours), it is the custom for the private boat to go under the wind and present itself not side to side but obliquely, at the same time lowering its flag.

Thus did Captain La Roche, except lowering the flag, for he

had none, as no more had we. Flags are scarcely needed in these waters except upon approaching land or in case of fighting.

Our mariners compared their estimates of distances covered. For on every ship the master pilot and the first mate register each day the route covered, the currents, winds, time, and estimate of distance. Monsieur la Roche calculated that we were at the forty-fifth degree and at one hundred leagues from the Banks; our pilot, Master Oliver Fleuriot, from St. Malo, thought we were within sixty leagues; Captain Foulques put the distance at one hundred and twenty leagues and I consider his estimate the nearest.

We derived much pleasure from the meeting with this boat. It gave us courage since we began to meet neighbors and made us feel we were again in familiar waters.

There is one circumstance upon which I must remark and which gave me food for thought.]

About the eighteenth day of June, we found the Sea-water, during three dayes space, very warme, and by the same warmth, our Wine also was warme in the bottome of our Ship, yet the ayre was not hotter then before. And the one and twentieth of the said Moneth, quite contrary, we were two or three dayes so much compassed with Mistes and Coldes, that wee thought our selves to be in the moneth of January, and the water of the Sea was extreame cold. Which continued with us untill we came upon the said Banke, by reason of the said Mists, which outwardly did procure this cold unto us. When I seeke out the cause of this Antiperistasis, I attribute it to the Ices of the North, which come floting downe upon the Coast and Sea adjoining to New-found-land and Labrador, which we have said elsewhere is brought thither with the Sea by her naturall motion, which is greater there then elsewhere, because of the great space it hath to run as in a gulfe in the depth of America, where the nature and situation of the universall earth doth

bear it easily. Now these Ices (which sometimes are seene in bankes of ten leagues length, and as high as Mountaines and hils, and thrice as deepe in the waters) holding, as it were, an Empire in this Sea, drive out farre from them that which is contrary to their coldnesse, and consequently doe binde and close on this side that small quantity of milde temperature that the Summer may bring to that part where they come to seate and place themselves.

[I do not deny that the same latitudes of this region are colder than corresponding latitudes in Europe for reasons which I will give later in speaking of the backwardness of the seasons. I will express my opinion, leaving it to any other to do the same.

I wished to be mindful of this memorable experience on the return from New France and I found the same warm waters, as nearly as possible, altho in the month of September, at five or six days' distance from the Great Banks of which I have spoken.]

Chapter XII.

Cod banks: Arrival there: Description: Fishing for cod and catching birds: Gluttony of the "Happe-foyes": Divers perils: Favors from God: Causes of frequent and long fogs in western sea: Signs of land: View of land: Marvelous odors: Accosting two shallops: Stop at Port du Mouton: Arrival at Port Royal: Two Frenchmen there alone among the savages.

Before we come to the Banke, which is the great Banke where the fishing of greene Cod-fishes is made (so are they called when they are not dry, for one must goe aland for the drying of them) the Sea-faring men, besides the computation they make of their course, have warnings when they come neere to it, by Birds, which are knowne: even as one doth them of these our parts, returning backe into France, when one is within one hundred or one hundred and twenty leagues neere it. The most frequent of these Birds, towards the said Bankes, be

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Godes, Fouquets (*i.e.* *sea-swallows*), and other called Happefoyes (*i.e.* *Liver-catchers*). [When we observed that these birds were different from those seen in the middle of the ocean we knew we were approaching the Banks. On Thursday, the twenty-second of June, we sounded but could not touch bottom; in the evening of the same day we sounded again and struck bottom at thirty-six fathoms. I cannot express our joy upon arriving at last where we had so ardently desired to be. We had no longer any sick. Every man leaped up for very joy. We felt as if we were in our own country, though in fact we had yet almost the half of our voyage to accomplish before arriving at Port Royal.

I wish at this point to throw a little light on the word "bank," which in this connection is not familiar to every one. Sandy bottoms that are dry at low tide are often called "banks"—places indeed disastrous for mariners.]

The Banke whereof we speake, are Mountaines grounded in the depth of the waters, which are raised up to thirty, six and thirty, and forty fathoms, neere to the upper face of the Sea. This Banke is holden to be of two hundred leagues in length, and is eighteene, twenty, and twenty foure leagues broad, which being passed, there is no more bottome found out then in these parts, untill one come to the land. The Ships being there arrived, the sailes are rowled up, and there fishing is made for the green-fish. [To make it more clear to my reader I have marked this place on my map of Newfoundland with points, which is the only way I know to represent it.

In the middle of the Lake of Neuchâtel in Switzerland is found a similar thing. There fishermen catch at a depth of six fathoms, and suddenly beyond that find no bottom.] There is farther off, other Bankes, as I have marked in the said Map, upon the which good fishing may be made: and many goe thither that know the places. When that we parted from Rochel, there was (as it were) a Forrest of Ships lying at Chef

de Bois (whereof that place hath taken his name) which went all in a company to that Country, preventing us (in their going) but onely of two daies.

Having seene and noted the Banke, we hoisted up sailes and bare all night, keeping still our Coast to the West. But the dawne of day being come, which was Saint John Baptist's Eve, in Gods name we pulled downe the sailes, passing that day a fishing of Cod-fish, with a thousand mirths and contentments, by reason of fresh meates, whereof we had as much as we would, having long before wished for them. Monsieur de Poutrincourt, and a young man of Retel named Le Fleure, who by reason of the Sea-sickness were not come out from their beds nor Cabines, from the beginning of the Navigation, came upon the hatches that day, and had the pleasure not onely of fishing of Cod, but also of those Birds, that be called by the French Marriners Hapfoyes, that is to say, Liver-catchers, because of their greedinesse to devoure the livers of the Cod-fishes that are cast into the Sea after their bellies be opened, whereof they are so covetous that though they see a great Powle over their heads, ready to strike them downe, yet they adventure themselves to come neere to the Ship, to catch some of them, at what price soever. And they which were not occupied in fishing, did passe their time in that sport. And so did they, by their diligence, that we tooke some thirty of them, [but in the doing of this one of the ship's carpenters fell over-board. Fortunately the ship was only drifting at that moment and he was able to save himself by the rudder, from which he was drawn onto the deck, and was punished for his carelessness by Captain Foulques.]

In this fishing, we sometimes did take Sea-dogs, whose skins our Joyners did keepe carefully to smooth their worke withall. Item, fishes called by Frenchmen Merlus, which be better then Cod, and sometimes another kinde of fish, called Bars: which diversity did augment our delight. They which were not busie

in taking neither Fishes nor Birds, did passe their time in gathering the hearts, guts, and other inward parts (most delicate) of the Cod-fish, which they did mince with lard and spices, and with those things did make as good Bolonia Sausiges, as any can be made in Paris, and we did eate of them with a very good stomacke.

[In the evening we hoisted sail and set out to continue on our route, after having fired off our cannon in honor of the festival of Saint John and Monsieur de Poutrincourt who bears his name. The next day some of the company thought they saw icebergs in the distance, and we remembered the fate of the Olonois boat which was wrecked the year before by approaching too near them. Two men of the Olonois boat who saved themselves on an iceberg had the good fortune to be picked up by a passing ship.]

From the eighteenth of June untill we did arrive at Port Royal, we have found the weather quite otherwise to that we had before. For (as we have already said) we had cold mists or fogs, before our comming to the Banke (where we came in faire sunshine) but the next day we fell to the fogs againe, which (a farre off) we might perceive to come and wrap us about, holding us continually prisoners three whole dayes, for two dayes of faire weather they permitted us: which was alwayes accompanied with cold, by reason of the Summers absence. Yea even divers times we have seene our selves a whole sennight continually in thicke fogges, twice without any shew of Sunne, but very little, as I will recite hereafter. And I will bring forth a reason for such effects which seemeth unto me probable. As wee see the fire to draw the moistnesse of a wet cloth, opposite unto it; likewise the Sunne draweth moistnesse and vapours both from the Sea and from the land. But for the dissolving of them, there is here one vertue, and beyond those parts another, according to the accidents and circumstances that are found. In these our Countries it raiseth up vapours onely

from the ground, and from our Rivers: which earthly vapours, grosse and waighty, and participating lesse of the moist element, doe cause us a hot aire, and the earth discharged of those vapours, becomes thereby more hot and parching. From thence it commeth that the said vapours, having the earth on the one part, and the Sunne on the other, which heateth them, they are easily dissolved, not remaining long in the ayre, unlesse it be in winter, when the earth is waxen cold, and the Sunne beyond the Equinoctiall line, farre off from us. From the same reason proceedeth the cause why Mists and fogs be not so frequent, nor so long in the French Seas, as at the New-found-land, because that the Sunne, passing from his rising above the grounds, this Sea at the comming thereof receiveth only earthly vapours, and by a long space retaineth this vertue to dissolve very soone the exhalation it draweth to it selfe. But when it commeth to the middest of the Ocean, and to the said New-found-land, having elevated and assumed in so long a course a great abundance of vapours, from this moist wide Ocean, it doth not so easily dissolve them, as well because those vapours be cold of themselves and of their nature, as because the element which is nearest under them, doth sympathize with them, and preserveth them, and the Sunne-beames being not holpen in the dissolving of them, as they are upon the earth. Which is even seene in the land of that Countrie, which (although it hath but small heate, by reason of the abundance of woods) notwithstanding it helpeth to disperse the Mists and Fogges, which be ordinarily there, in the morning, during Summer, but not as at Sea, for about eight a clocke in the morning they begin to vanish away, and serve as a dew to the ground. [I hope that these little digressions will not be displeasing to the Reader, since they seem to be apropos.]

The eight and twentieth day of June, we found our selves upon a small banke (other then the great Banke whereof we have spoken) at forty fathoms. [The next day one of our

sailors fell into the sea in the night-time, and would have been lost if he had not chanced to find a rope dragging in the water.] From that time forward, we began to descry land-markes (it was New-found-land) by hearbes, mosses, flowers, and peeces of wood, that we alwaies met, abounding the more, by so much wee drew neere to it. The fourth day of July, our sailers, which were appointed for the last quarter watch, descried in the morning, very early, every one being yet in bed, the Iles of Saint Peter. And the Friday the seventh of the said Moneth, we discovered, on the Larboord, a Coast of land, high raised up, [just visible, which discovery gave us exceeding pleasure. It was providential that we made this discovery in fine weather. And while we were still afar off, the boldest ones mounted to the top in order to get a better view, as we were all hopeful that this land would be inhabited. Monsieur de Poutrincourt climbed up and so did I, a thing which we had never done before.] Even our Dogs did thrust their noses out of the Ship, better to draw and smell the sweet ayre of the land, not being able to containe themselves from witnessing, by their gestures, the joy they had of it. We drew within a league neere unto it, and (the sailes being let downe) we fell a fishing of Cod, the fishing of the Banke beginning to faile. They which had before us made voyages in those parts, did judge us to be at Cape Breton. The night drawing on, we stood off to the Sea-ward: the next day following, being the eight of the said moneth of July, as we drew neere to the Bay of Campseau, came, about the evening, mists, which did continue eight whole dayes, during which we kept us at Sea, hulling still, not being able to goe forward, being resisted by West and South-west windes. During these eight dayes, which were from one Saturday to another, God (who hath alwayes guided these voyages, in the which not one man hath been lost by Sea) shewed us his speciall favour, in sending unto us, among the thicke fogges, a clearing of the Sunne, which continued but

halfe an hour: and then had we sight of the firme land, and knew that we were ready to be cast away upon the rockes, if wee had not speedily stood off to Sea-ward. [It is thus that one seeks the land as tho it were a beloved mistress, altho she often repels her lover most rudely.] Finally, upon Saturday, the fifteenth of July, about two a clocke in the afternoone, the skie began to salute us, as it were, with Cannon shots, shedding teares, as being sorry to have kept us so long in paine. So that faire weather being come againe, we saw comming straight to us (we being foure leagues off from the land) two Shallops with open sailes, in a Sea yet wrathed. This thing gave us much content. But whilst we followed on our course, there came from the land odors uncomparable for sweetnesse, brought with a warme winde, so abundantly, that all the Orient parts could not procure greater abundance. We did stretch out our hands, as it were to take them, so palpable were they, which I have admired a thousand times since. Then the two Shallops did approach, the one manned with Savages, who had a Stagge painted at their sailes, the other with Frenchmen of Saint Maloes, which made their fishing at the Port of Camseau, but the Savages were more diligent, for they arrived first. Having never seene any before, I did admire, at the first sight, their faire shape, and forme of visage. One of them did excuse himselfe, for that he had not brought his faire bever gowne, because the weather had beene foule. He had but one red peece of Frize upon his backe, and Matachiaz¹ about his necke, at his wrists, above the elbow, and at his girdle. We made them to eate and drinke. During that time they told us all that had passed, a yeare before, at Port Royal whither we were bound. In the meane while they of Saint Maloe came, and told us as much as the Savages had. Adding that the Wednesday, when that we did shun the rockes, they had seene us, and would have

¹ “Matachiaz be carkanets, necklaces, bracelets, and wrought girdles.” — Note by Purchas.

come to us with the said Savages, but that they left off, by reason we put to the Sea: and moreover that it had beene alwayes faire weather on the land: which made us much to marvell: but the cause thereof hath beene shewed before. [From such inconvenience there is one fortunate result, that these storms serve as a bulwark for the country and they always quickly know what will happen on the sea. They told us also that they had been told some days before by other savages that a boat had been seen at Cape Breton.] These Frenchmen of Saint Maloe were men that did deale for the associates of Monsieur de Monts, and did complaine that the Baskes, or men of Saint John de Lus (against the King his Inhibitions) had trucked with the Savages, and carried away above six thousand Beavers skins. They gave us sundry sorts of their fishes, as Bars,¹ Merlus, and great Fletans. [Before these Savages went away they asked for bread to give to their wives, and we gave them some. They well deserved it since they had come so boldly to let us know where we were. For afterwards we proceeded always with confidence.]

At the parting, some number of ours went a-land at the Port of Camseau, as well to fetch us some wood and fresh water, whereof we had neede, as for to follow the Coast from that place to Port Royall in a Shallop, for we did feare least Monsieur de Pont should be at our comming thither already gone from thence. The Savages made offer to goe to him thorow the woods, with promise to be there within six dayes, to advertise him of our comming, to the end to cause his stay, for as much as word was left with him to depart, unless hee were succoured within the sixteenth day of that moneth, which he failed not to doe: notwithstanding our men desirous to see the Land neerer, did hinder the same. They promised us to bring unto us the next day the said wood and water, if wee would approach neere the Land, which wee did not, but followed on our course.

¹ The Bar is like a perch, and is called also sea-wolf. The Merlus is a cod, and Fletans are large flatfish.

Tuesday the seventeenth of July, wee were according to our accustomed manner, surprized with mists and contrarie wind. But the Thursday wee had calme weather, so that whether it were mist or faire weather wee went nothing forward.

[During this calm a carpenter went bathing in the sea in the evening after having drunk too much liquor. He was taken suddenly ill, the cold of the water without combatting with the heat of the liquor within. Several sailors, seeing their companion's peril, threw themselves into the water to help him, but he, with his cloudy wits, set them at defiance, not understanding their efforts. Seeing which other sailors jumped in to help and they got so in the way one of another that they were all in danger. In the midst of the confusion was heard the voice of Monsieur de Poutrincourt. He called sharply, "Jean Hay, look at me! Now catch the rope that I throw you!" They pulled him on deck and the rest saved themselves as best they could. The author of all this confusion fell so ill afterwards that we feared his death.]

After this calme wee had two dayes of fogges. The Sunday, the three and twentieth of the said moneth, wee had knowledge of the Port du Rossignoll, and the same day in the afternoone, the Sunne shining faire, we cast anchor at the mouth of Port du Mouton, and we were in danger to fall upon a shoald, being come to two fathomes and a halfe depth. We went aland seventene of us in number, to fetch the wood and water, whereof we had need. There we found the Cabins and Lodgings, yet whole and unbroken, that Monsieur de Monts made two yeeres before, who had sojourned there by the space of one moneth, as we have said in his place. We saw there, being a sandy Land, store of Okes bearing Acornes, Cypresse-trees, Firre-trees, Bay-trees, Muske-roses, Goose-berries, Purslen, Raspies, Fernes, Lysimachia, (a kind of Scammonee) Calamus odoratus, Angelica, and other Simples, in the space of two houres that wee tarried there. Wee brought backe in our ship

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wilde Peaze, which we found good. [They grow on the shore of the sea which washes over them twice a day.]

We had not the leisure to hunt after Rabets that be there in great number, not farre from the Port, but we returned aboard as soone as we had laden our selves with water and wood: and so hoised up sailes.

Tuesday the five and twentieth day we were about the Cap de Sable, in faire weather, and made a good journey, for about the evening we came to sight of Long Ile, and the Bay of Sainte Marie, but because of the night we put back to Seaward. And the next day we cast Anchor at the mouth of Port Royall, where wee could not enter by reason it was ebbing water, but we gave two Canon shot from our ship to salute the said Port, and to advertize the Frenchmen that we were there.

Thursday the seven and twentieth of July, we came in with the floud, which was not without much difficultie, for that we had the wind contrarie, and gusts of wind from the Mountains, which made us almost to strike upon the Rockes. And in these troubles our ship bare still contrarie, the Poope before, and sometimes turned round, not being able to do any other thing else. Finally, being in the Port, it was unto us a thing marvellous to see the faire distance and largenesse of it, and the Mountaines and Hils that invironed it, and I wondered how so faire a place did remayne desert, being all filled with Woods, seeing that so many pine away in the World which might make good of this Land, if onely they had a chiefe Governour to conduct them thither. We knew not yet if Monsieur du Pont was gone or no, and therefore wee did expect that hee should send some men to meete us; but it was in vaine: for hee was gone from thence twelve dayes before. And whilest we did hull in the middest of the Port, Membertou, the greatest Sagamos¹ of the Souriquois (so are the people called with whom we were) came to the French Fort, to them that were left there,

¹ Captain.

being only two, crying as a mad man, saying in his Language; "What! You stand here a dining (for it was about noone) and doe not see a great ship that commeth here; and we know not what men they are:" Suddenly these two men ranne upon the Bulwarke, and with diligence made readie the Canons, which they furnished with Pellets and touch-Powder. Membertou, without delay, came in a Canow made of barkes of trees, with a Daughter of his, to view us: And having found but friendship, and knowing us to be Frenchmen, made no alarme. Notwithstanding one of the two Frenchmen left there, called La Taille, came to the shoare of the Port, his match on the cocke, to know what we were (though he knew it well enough, for we had the white Banner displayed at the top of the Mast) and on the sudden foure volley of Canons were shot off, which made innumerable echoes: And from our part, the Fort was saluted with three Canon shots, and many Musket shots, at which time our Trumpeter was not slacke of his dutie. Then we landed, viewed the house, and we passed that day in giving God thankes, in seeing the Savages Cabins, and walking thorow the Medowes. But I cannot but praise the gentle courage of these two men, one of them I have alreadie named, the other is called Miquelot: which deserve well to be mentioned here, for having so freely exposed their lives in the conservation of the welfare of New France. For Monsieur du Pont having but one Barke and a Shallop, to seeke out towards New-foundland for French shippes, could not charge himselfe with so much furniture, Corne, Meate, and Merchandises as were there; which he had bin forced to cast into the Sea (and which had bin greatly to our prejudice, and we did fear it very much) if these two men had not adventured themselves to tarrie there, for the preserving of those things, which they did with a willing and joyfull minde.

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Chapter XIII.

Fortunate meeting with Monsieur du Pont : His return to Port Royal : Rejoicings : Description of environs of said Port : Conjectures concerning the source of the great river of Canada : Sowing of wheat : Monsieur du Pont's return to France : Monsieur de Poutrincourt's voyage to the country of the Armouchiquois : Fine barley grows without cultivation : Occupations and way of living at Port Royal : Cause of the prairies along the river l'Equille.

The Friday, next day after our arrivall, Monsieur de Poutrincourt affected to this Enterprize as for himselfe, put part of his people to worke in the tillage and manuring of the ground, whilst the others were employed in making cleane of the Chambers, and every one to make readie that which belonged to his Trade. [My desire to know what we could hope from this land made me more eager than the others to set to work.] In the meane time those people of ours that had left us at Campseau to come along the Coast, met (as it were miraculously) with Monsieur du Pont among Ilands that bee in great number in those parts. [To tell how great was the joy on both sides is impossible.] The said Monsieur du Pont, at this happie and fortunate meeting, returned backe to see us in the Port Royall, and to ship himselfe in the Jonas, to returne into France. As this chance was beneficiall unto him, so was it unto us, by the meanes of his ships that hee left with us. For without that wee had beene in such extremitie that we had not beene able to goe nor come any where, our ship being once returned into France. Hee arrived there on Monday the last of July, and tarried yet in Port Royall, untill the eight and twenty of August. All this moneth we made merry. [Monsieur de Poutrincourt broached a cask of wine which had been given him for his own use, and announced permission for all comers to drink their fill as long as it lasted, so that it happened that a number became very like foolish children.]

At the very beginning, we were desirous to see the Countrie up the River, where wee found Medowes almost continuall

above twelve leagues of ground, among which brookes doe runne without number, which come from the Hills and Mountaines adjoining. The Woods are very thicke on the water shoares, and so thicke that sometimes one cannot goe thorow them.

[I will not, however, aver that they are equal to the forests of Peru described by Joseph Acosta. He says, "One of our brothers, a man worthy of all confidence, told us how, when he was once lost in the mountains, without knowing where he was or whither he should go, he found himself in a place so thickly covered with underbrush that he travelled over it for fifteen days without touching foot to the ground."¹ I will leave it to each one to believe it if he chooses, but I will say that I myself have not yet attained sufficient credulity.

The woods are less dense farther from the rivers and damp places. The beauty of it is so great that in truth the country resembles the land promised by God to his chosen people by the mouth of Moses: "For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks and of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills. . . . A land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass."²

And in further confirmation of the goodness and of the wonderful situation of the land he promised to give them he says: "For the land, whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowest thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: But the land, whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven."³

As we described Port Royal and its environs before in recounting the first voyage of Monsieur de Monts, and as we

¹ Joseph Acosta, Bk IV., chap. xxx.

² Deut. viii, 7, 9.

³ Deut. xi, 10, 11.

repeat here, the country abounds plentifully in small streams as is shown by the number of great rivers that water it. In this matter the land yields not one whit to the country of the Gauls (which is very fortunate in this respect). It will be famous for its felicity if it is ever inhabited by an industrious people who will know how to cultivate it. It is verily the promised land "whose stones are iron and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass." We have already spoken of the mines of iron and brass and of the steel, and we will have more to say of them hereafter. Around about Port Royal the country is very diversified. In the mountains there are stretches of beautiful country; wherein I have seen lakes and streams no less than in the valleys.]

In the passage to come forth from the same Port, for to goe to Sea, there is a Brooke, which falleth from the high Rockes downe, and in falling disperseth it selfe into a small raine, which is very delightfull in Summer, because that at the foote of the Rocke there are Caves, wherein one is covered, whilst that this raine falleth so pleasantly: And in the Cave (wherein the raine of this Brooke falleth) is made, as it were, a Rain-bowe when the Sunne shineth: which hath given me great cause of admiration.

[Once when we went from our fort to the sea through the woods (a distance of three leagues) we met with a pleasant surprise upon the return trip. We thought ourselves on a flat stretch when we suddenly found ourselves on the summit of a high mountain. The descent was not so pleasant, however, as we had much difficulty on account of the snow. But the mountains in the country are never continuous or universal.]

Within ten leagues of our dwelling, the Countrey, thorow which the River L'Equille passeth, is all plaine and even. I have seene in those parts many Countries, where the land is all even, and the fairest of the world. But the perfection thereof is, that it is well watered. And for witness whereof, not onely in Port Royall but also in all New France, the great River of

Canada is prooffe thereof, which at the end of foure hundred leagues is as broad as the greatest Rivers of the world, replenished with Iles and Rockes innumerable: taking her beginning from one of the Lakes which doe meete at the streame of her course (and so I thinke) so that it hath two courses, the one from the East towards France: the other from the West towards the South Sea: which is admirable, but not without the like example found in our Europe. For I understand that the River which commeth downe to Trent and to Verone proceedeth from a Lake which produceth another River, whose course is bent opposite to the River of Lins which falleth into the River Danube. So our Geographies show that the Nile issueth from a Lake that bringeth forth other Rivers, which discharge themselves into the great Ocean.

Let us returne to our tillage: for to that must wee apply our selves: it is the first mine that must bee sought for, which is more worth than the treasures of Atabalipa:¹ And hee that hath Corne, Wine, Cattell, Woollen and Linnen, Leather, Iron, and afterward Cod-fish, he needeth no other treasures, for the necessaries of life. Now all this is (or may be) in the Land by us described: upon which Monsieur de Poutrincourt having caused a second tillage to be made, in fifteene dayes after his arrivall thither, he sowed it with our French Corne, as well Wheat and Rie, as with Hempe, Flaxe, Turnep seed, Radice, Cabages, and other seeds: And the eight day following, he saw that his labour had not beene in vaine, but rather a faire hope, by the production that the ground had already made of the seedes which shee had received. Which being shewed to Monsieur du Pont was unto him a faire subject to make his relation in France, as a thing altogether new there. The twentieth day of August was already come, when these faire shewes were made, and the time did admonish them that were to goe in the Voyage, to make ready. Whereunto they beganne to give

¹ Evidently Atahualpa, the Inca chieftain, is intended.

order, so that the five and twentieth day of the same moneth, after many peales of Ordnance, they weighed anchor to come to the mouth of the Port, which is commonly the first dayes journey.

Monsieur de Monts being desirous to reach as farre into the South as he could, and seeke out a place very fit to inhabit beyond Malebarre, had requested Monsieur de Poutrincourt to passe farther than yet he had done, and to seeke a convenient Port in good temperature of aire, making no greater account of Port Royall than of Sainte Croix, in that which concerneth health. Whereunto the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt being willing to condescend, would not tarrie for the Spring time, knowing he should have other employments to exercise himselfe withall. But seeing his sowings ended, and his field greene, resolved himselfe to make this Voyage and Discoverie before Winter. So then hee disposed all things to that end, and with his Barke anchored neere to the Jonas, to the end to get out in companie.

[During the three days that he was obliged to wait for a favorable wind a whale (which the natives call Maria) came each morning into the Port with the high tide, and there wallowed at her ease, going out with the ebb.

Moreover taking advantage of a little leisure I composed in French verse an "Adieu to the Sieur du Pont and his company," which is published among the poems called "The Muses of New France."]

The eight and twentieth day of the said moneth each of us tooke his course, one one way, and the other another, diversely to Gods keeping. As for Monsieur du Pont he purposed by the way to set upon a Merchant of Rouen, named Boyer, who (contrary to the Kings inhibitions) was in those parts to trucke with the Savages, notwithstanding hee had beene delivered out of prison in Rochell, by the consent of Monsieur de Poutrincourt, under promise hee should not goe thither;

but the said Boyer was already gone. And as for Monsieur de Poutrincourt, hee tooke his course for the Ile of Sainte Croix, the Frenchmens first abode, having Monsieur de Champdoré for Master and Guide of his Barque: but beeing hindered by the winde, and because his Barque did leake, hee was forced twice to put backe againe. In the end hee quite passed the Bay Française, and viewed the said Ile, where hee found ripe Corne, of that which two yeeres before was sowed by Monsieur de Monts, which was faire, bigge, weighty, and well filled. Hee sent some of that Corne to Port Royall, where I was requested to stay, to looke to the house, and to keepe the rest of the companie there in concord. Whereunto I did agree (though it was referred to my will) for the assurance that wee had among our selves, that the yeere following wee should make our habitation in a warmer Countrie beyond Malebarre, and that wee should all goe in companie with them that should bee sent to us out of France. In the meane while I employed my selfe in dressing the ground, to make inclosures and partitions of Gardens, for to sowe Corne and Kitchin herbes. Wee caused also a Ditch to bee made all about the Fort, which was very needfull to receive the waters and moistnesse, that before did runne underneath among the rootes of trees, that had benee fallen downe: which peradventure did make the place unhealthfull. I will not stand in describing heere, what each of our other workmen and labourers did particularly make. It sufficeth, that wee had store of Joyners, Carpenters, Masons, Stone-Carvers, Lock-Smithes, Taylors, Boord-sawyers, Mariners, &c. who did exercise their Trades, which (in doing their duties) were very kindly used, for they were at their owne libertie for three houres labour a day. The overplus of the time they bestowed in going to gather Mussels, which are at low water in great quantitie before the Fort, or Lobsters, or Crabbes, which are in Port Royall, under the Rockes in great abundance, or Cockles, which are in every part of the ooze, about the shoares

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of the said Port: All that kinde of fish is taken without Net or Boat. Some there were that sometimes tooke wilde-fowle, but not being skillfull, they spoyled the game. And as for us, our Table was furnished by one of Monsieur de Monts men, who provided for us in such sort that wee wanted no fowle, bringing unto us, sometimes halfe a dozen of birds, called by Frenchmen, Outards (a kind of wilde Geese) sometimes as many Mallards, or wilde Geese, white and gray, very often two or three dozen of Larkes, and other kindes of birds. As for Bread, no body felt want thereof. Every one had three quarts of pure and good Wine a day, which hath continued with us as long as we have been there, saving that when they who came to fetch us, instead of bringing commodities unto us, helped us to spend our owne, [and then it was necessary to reduce the allowance to one pint. Nevertheless as a rule we had an unusual abundance of it.

This voyage was in this respect the best of all, for which much praise is due to Monsieur de Monts and his associates, Messieurs Georges and Macquin of Rochelle, who fitted us out in the beginning so handsomely. For indeed I found that the September wine with which they furnished us was, with various uses, a sovereign preventive of the scurvy. I believe that the use of spices does certainly, in a measure at least, correct the noxiousness of the air of the country, which air, however, I myself have always found bracing and pure, notwithstanding all the considerations touching this malady that I have already discussed.] For our allowance, wee had Pease, Beanes, Rice, Prunes, Raisins, drie Codde, and salt Fleshe, besides Oyle and Butter. But whensoever the Savages, dwelling neere us, had taken any quantitie of Sturgions, Salmons, or small fishes; Item, any Bevers, Ellans,¹ Carabous (or fallow Deere), or other animals mentioned in my "Adieu to New France," they brought unto us halfe of it: and that which remained they

¹ A kind of Stag or red Deere.

exposed it sometimes to sale publikely, and they that would have any thereof would trucke Bread for it.

[Such was in part our means of living. Although each one of our workmen had his own trade, yet each one gave himself to whatever work was necessary. Several masons and stone cutters turned bakers and made us as good bread as can be bought in Paris. Also one of our wood-sawyers several times made a good quantity of coal.]

Wherein is to be noted a thing that now I remember. It is, that being necessary to cut turfes to cover the piles of wood, heaped to make the said Coales, there was found in the Medowes three foote deepe of earth, not earth, but grasse or herbes mingled with mudde, which have heaped themselves yeerely one upon another from the beginning of the world, not having been mooved. Neverthelesse the greene thereof serveth for pasture to the Ellans, which wee have many times seene in our Medowes of those parts, in herds of three or foure, great and small, suffering themselves sometimes to bee approached, then they ranne to the Woods: But I may say moreover, that I have seene, in crossing two leagues of our said Medowes, the same to be all trodden with trackes of Ellans, for I knowe not there any other cloven footed beasts. There was killed one of those beasts, not farre off from our Fort at a place where Monsieur de Monts having caused the grasse to bee mowed two yeeres before, it was growne again the fairest of the world. Some might marvell how these Medowes are made, seeing that all the ground in those places is covered with Woods. For satisfaction whereof, let the curious Reader knowe, that in high Spring tides, especially on March and September, the floud covereth those shoares, which hindereth the trees there to take roote. But everywhere, where the water overfloweth not, if there bee any ground, there are Woods.

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Chapter XIV.

Departure from the island Sainte-Croix : Bay de Marchin : Chouakoet : Vines and grapes : Liberality of the natives : Armouchiquois people : Curing of a wounded Armouchiquois : Simplicity and ignorance of this people : Vice among them : Suspicion : Have no thought of clothing : Wheat sown and vines planted in the country of the Armouchiquois : Quantity of grapes : Abundance of people : A perilous sea.

Let us return to Monsieur de Poutrincourt, whom we have left in the Ile Sainte Croix. Having made there a review, and cherished the Savages that were there, hee went in the space of foure dayes to Pemptegoet, which is that place so famous under the name of Norombega. There needeth not so long a time in coming thither, but he tarried on the way to mend his Barke: for to that end he had brought with him a Smith and a Carpenter, and quantitie of boords. Hee crossed the Iles, which bee at the mouth of the River, and came to Kinibeki, where his Barke was in danger, by reason of the great streames that the nature of the place procureth there. This was the cause why hee made there no stay, but passed further to the Bay of Marchin, which is the name of a Captaine of the Savages, who at the arrivall of the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, beganne to crie out aloud He He: whereunto the like answer was made unto him. Hee replied, asking in his Language, What are yee? They answered him, Friends: And thereupon Monsieur de Poutrincourt approaching, treated amitie with him, and presented him with Knives, Hatchets, and Matachiaz, that is to say, Scarfes, Karkenets and Bracelets made of Beades, or Quills made of white and blue Glasse; whereof hee was very glad, as also for the confederacy that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt made with him, knowing very well that the same would bee a great aide and support unto him. Hee distributed to some men that were about him, among a great number of people, the Presents that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt gave him, to whom hee brought store of Orignac,

or Ellans flesh (for the Baskes doe call a Stagge, or Ellan, Orignac) to refresh the companie with victuals. That done, they set sayles towards Chouakoet, where the River of Captaine Olmechin is, and where the yeere following was made the warre of the Souriquois and Etechemins, under the conduct of the Sagamos Membertou, which I have described in Verses, which Verses I have inserted among the Muses of New France. At the entry of the Bay of the said place of Chouakoet there is a great Iland, about halfe a league compasse, wherein our men did first discover any Vines (for, although there bee some in the Lands neerer to Port Royall, notwithstanding there was yet no knowledge had of them) which they found in great quantitie, having the trunke three and foure foote high, and as bigge as ones fist in the lower part, the Grapes faire and great, and some as big as Plummes, or lesser: but as blacke, that they left a staine where their liquor was spilled: Those Grapes, I say, lying over bushes and brambles that growe in the same Iland, where the trees are not so thicke as in other where, but are six or seven rods distant asunder, which causeth the Grapes to be ripe the sooner; having besides a ground very fit for the same, gravelly and sandy. They tarried there but two houres: but they noted, that there were no Vines on the North side, even as in the Ile Sainte Croix are no Cedar trees, but on the West side.

From this Iland they went to the River of Olmechin, a Port of Chouakoet, where Marchin and the said Olmechin brought to Monsieur de Poutrincourt a prisoner of the Souriquois (and therefore their enemy) which they gave unto him freely. Two houres after, there arrived two Savages, the one an Etechemin, named Chkoudun, Captaine of the River Saint John, called by the Savages Oigoudi: The other a Souriquois, named Messamoet, Captaine or Sagamos of the River of the Port De la Heve, where this prisoner was taken. They had great store of Merchandises trucked with Frenchmen, which they were comming

to utter, that is to say, great, meane, and small Kettles, Hatchets, Knives, Gownes, short Clokes, red Waste-coates, Bisket, and other things: whereupon there arrived twelve or fifteene Boats, full of Savages of Olmechins subjection, being in very good order, all their faces painted, according to their wonted custome, when they will seeme faire, having their Bow and Arrow in hand, and the quiver, which they layed downe aboard. At that houre Messamoet beganne his Oration before the Savages: shewing them, how that in times past, they often had friendship together: and that they might easily overcome their enemies, if they would have intelligence and serve themselves with the amitie of the Frenchmen, whom they saw there present to knowe their Countrey, to the end to bring commodities unto them hereafter, and to succour them with their forces, which forces he knew, and hee was the better able to make a demonstration thereof unto them, by so much that hee which spake, had before time beene in France; and dwelt there with Monsieur de Grandmont, Governour of Bayonne. Finally, his speech continued almost an houre with much vehemency and affection, with a gesture of body and armes, as is requisite in a good Oratour. And in the end he did cast all his merchandises (which were worth above three hundred crownes, brought into that Countrey) into Olmechin his Boat, as making him a present of that, in assurance of the love hee would wisse unto him. That done the night hasted on, and every one retired himselfe. But Messamoet was not pleased, for that Olmechin made not the like Oration unto him, nor requited his present: For the Savages have that noble qualitie, that they give liberally, casting at the feet of him whom they will honour, the Present that they give him: But it is in hope to receive some reciprocall kindnesse, which is a kinde of contract, which wee call without name, I give thee, to the end thou shouldest give mee. And that is done thorow all the world. Therefore Messamoet from that day had in minde to make warre to Olmechin.

Notwithstanding, the next day in the morning he and his people did returne with a Boate laden with that which they had, to wit, Corne, Tabacco, Beanes, and Pumpions, which they distributed here and there. Those two Captaines Olmechin and Marchin have since beene killed in the warres. In whose stead was chosen by the Savages, one named Bessabes, which since our returne hath beene killed by Englishmen: and in stead of him they have made a Captaine to come from within the Lands, named Asticou, a grave man, valiant and redoubted, which, in the twinkling of an eye, will gather up a thousand Savages together, which thing Olmechin and Marchin might also doe. For our Barkes being there, presently the Sea was seene all covered over with their Boates, laden with nimble and lusty men, holding themselves up straight in them: which wee cannot do without danger, those Boates being nothing else but trees hollowed. From thence Monsieur de Poutrincourt following on his course, found a certain Port very delightfull, which had not beene seene by Monsieur de Monts: And during the Voyage they saw store of smoke, and people on the shoare, which invited us to come aland: And seeing that no account was made of it, they followed the Barke along the sand, yea most often they did outgoe her, so swift are they, having their Bowes in hand, and their Quivers upon their backes, alwaies singing and dancing, not taking care with what they should live by the way. [Happy people! A thousand times happier than those across the sea. If they but knew of God and his salvation!]

Monsieur de Poutrincourt having landed in this Port, behold among a multitude of Savages a good number of Fifes, which did play with certaine long Pipes, made as it were with Canes of Reedes, painted over, but not with such an harmonie as our Shepherds might doe; And to shew the excellency of their arte, they whisled with their noses in gambolling, according to their fashion.

And as this people did runne headlong, to come to the Barke, there was a Savage which hurt himselfe grievously in the heele against the edge of a Rocke, whereby hee was enforced to remayne in the place. Monsieur de Poutrincourt his Chirurgion, at that instant would apply to this hurt that which was of his Arte, but they would not permit it, untill they had first made their mouthes and mops about the wounded man. They then layed him downe on the ground, one of them holding his head on his lappe, and made many bawlings and singings, whereunto the wounded man answered but with a Ho, with a complaying voice, which having done they yeilded him to the cure of the said Chirurgion, and went their way, and the Patient also after hee had beene dressed; but two houres after he came againe, the most jocund in the world, having put about his head the binding cloth wherewith his heele was wrapped, for to seeme the more gallant.

The day following, our people entred farther into the Port, where being gone to see the Cabins of the Savages, an old woman of an hundred or sixscore yeeres of age came to cast at the feete of Monsieur de Poutrincourt a loafe of bread, made with the Wheat called Mahis, then very faire Hempe of a long growth: Item, Beanes, and Grapes newly gathered, because they had seene Frenchmen eate of them at Chouakoet. Which the other Savages seeing, that knew it not, they brought more of them than one could wish, emulating one another; and for recompence of this their kindnesse, there was set on their foreheads a Fillet or Band, of paper, wet with spittle, of which they were very proud. It was shewed them, in pressing the Grape into a Glasse, that of that we did make the Wine which wee did drinke. Wee would have made them to eate of the Grape, but having taken it into their mouthes, they spitted it out, [just as did our Gallic forefathers (as Ammion Marcellin relates), thinking it poisonous] so ignorant is this people of the best thing that God hath given to Man,

next to Bread. Yet notwithstanding they have no want of wit, and might be brought to doe some good things, if they were civilized, and had the use of Handy-crafts. But they are subtle, theevish, traiterous, and though they be naked, yet one cannot take heed of their fingers: for if one turne never so little his eyes aside, and that they spie the opportunitie to steale any Knife, Hatchet, or any thing else, they will not misse nor fayle of it; and will put the theft betweene their buttockes, or will hide it within the sand with their foot so cunningly, that one shall not perceive it. [I have read that in Florida the natives have the same instincts and the same cleverness in the art of thievery.] Indeed I doe not wonder if a people poore and naked be theevish; but when the heart is malicious, it is unexcusable. This people is such, that they must be handled with terrour:¹ for if through love and gentlenesse one give them too free accesse, they will practise some surprize, as it hath beene knowne in divers occasions heretofore, and will yet hereafter be seene. And without deferring any longer, the second day after our comming thither, as they saw our people busie awashing Linnen, they came some fifty, one following another, with Bowes, Arrowes and Quivers, intending to play some bad part, as it was conjectured upon their manner of proceeding; but they were prevented, some of our men going to meet them, with their Muskets and Matches at the cocke, which made some of them runne away, and the others being compassed in, having put downe their weapons, came to a Peninsula, or small head of an Iland, where our men were, and making a friendly shew, demanded to trucke the Tabacco they had for our merchandises.

The next day the Captaine of the said place and Port, came into Monsieur de Poutrincourts Barke to see him; wee did

¹ “This is the only way to civilize Savages. Trust them and hang them, nay, trust them and they will cut your throat, as in the Virginian massacre appeareth.”—Note by Purchas.

marvell to see him accompanied with Olmechin, seeing the way was marvellous long to come thither by Land, and much shorter by Sea. That gave cause of bad suspicion, albeit hee had promised his love to the Frenchmen. Notwithstanding they were gently received. And Monsieur de Poutrincourt gave to the said Olmechin a complete garment, wherewith being clothed, hee viewed himselfe in a Glasse, and did laugh to see himselfe in that order. But a little while after, feeling that the same hindred him, although it was in October, when hee was returned unto his Cabins, he distributed it to sundry of his men, to the end that one alone should not be over-pestered with it.

[This might serve as a lesson to our dandies of either sex (*mignons* & *mignonnes*) across the sea with their superabundance of clothing and their corsets hard as wood in which they suffer such a veritable hell that they are scarcely good for anything when wrapped up in their trappings. If the weather is hot they endure insufferable torments of heat in their thick plaited breeches—suffering equal to the tortures inflicted upon criminals.]

Now during the time that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt was there, being in doubt whether Monsieur de Monts would come to make an habitation on that Coast, as hee wished it, hee made there a piece of ground to be tilled, for to sowe Corne and to plant Vines, [aided by our apothecary Monsieur Louis Hebert, a man who, aside from his work in his profession, took extreme pleasure in tilling the land. We may compare Monsieur de Poutrincourt with our good father Noah who made necessary provision for a wheat crop and then planted the vine of which he perceived the full effect later.]

As they were deliberating to passe farther, Olmechin came to the Barke to see Monsieur de Poutrincourt, where having tarried certaine houres, either in talking or eating, hee said, that

the next day an hundred Boates should come, contayning every one sixe men: but the coming of such a number of men being only troublesome, Monsieur de Poutrincourt would not tarrie for them; but went away the same day to Malebarre, not without much difficultie, by reason of the great streames and shoalds that are there. So that the Barke having touched at three foot of water onely, we thought to be cast away, and we beganne to unlade her, and put victuals into the Shalop, which was behind, for to save us on land: but being no full Sea, the Barke came aflote within an houre. All this Sea is a Land overflowed, as that of Mount Saint Michaels, a sandy ground in which all that resteth is a plaine flat Countrey as farre as the Mountaines, which are seene fifteene leagues off from that place. And I am of opinion that as farre as Virginia it is all alike. Moreover, there is here great quantity of Grapes, as before, and a Countrey very full of people. Monsieur de Monts, being come to Malebarre in an other season of the yeare, gathered onely greene Grapes; which he made to be preserved, and brought some to the King. But it was our good hap to come thither in October, for to see the maturity thereof. I have here before shewed the difficulty that is found in entering into Malebarre. This is the cause why Monsieur de Poutrincourt came not in with his Barke, but went thither with a Shallop onely, which thirty or forty Savages did helpe to draw in; and when it was full tide (but the tide doth not mount here but two fathams high, which is seldome seene) he went out, and retired himselfe into his said Barke, to passe further in the morning, as soone as he should ordaine it.

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Chapter XV.

Dangers: Unknown language: Building of a forge and an oven: A cross set up: Abundance: Conspiracy: Disobedience: A murder: Attack of three hundred upon ten: Agility of the Armouchiquois: Prophecies of our day: Barbin: The Marquis d'Ancre: Accident from a burst musket: Insolence, fear, ungodliness, flight of savages: Port Fortuné: Rough sea: Vengeance: Council held: Resolution to return to France: New perils: Favors from God: Arrival of Monsieur de Pourtincourt at Port Royal: Reception given him.

The night beginning to give place to the dawning of the day, the sailes are hoised up, but it was a very perilous navigation. For with this small Vessell of only 18 tons they were forced to coast the land, where they found no depth: going backe to Sea it was yet worse; in such wise that they did strike twice or thrice, being lifted off againe onely by the waves, and the rudder was broken, which was a dreadfull thing. In this extremity they were constrained to cast anker in the Sea, at two fathams deepe, and three leagues off from the land. Which being done, Daniel Hay (a man which taketh pleasure in shewing forth his vertue in the perils of the Sea) was sent by Sieur de Pourtincourt towards the Coast to view it, and see if there were any Port. And as he was neere land he saw a Savage, which did dance, singing, yo, yo, yo; he called to him to come neerer, and by signes asked him if there was any place to retire Ships in, and where any fresh water was. The Savage having made signe there was, hee tooke him into his Shallop, and brought him to the Barke, wherein was Chkoudun, Captaine of the River of Oigoudi, otherwise Saint Johns River; who being brought before this Savage, he understood him no more than did our owne people: true it is, that by signs he comprehended better than they what he would say. This Savage shewed the places where no depth was, and where was any, and did so well indenting and winding here and there, alway the lead in hand, that in the end they came to the Port shewed by him,

where small depth is; wherein the Barke being arrived, diligence was used to make a forge for to mend her with her rudder, and an Oven to bake Bread, because there was no more Bisket left.

Fifteene dayes were employed in this worke, during the which Monsieur de Poutrincourt, according to the laudable custome of Christians, made a Crosse to be framed and set up on a greene Banke, as Monsieur du Monts had done two yeeres before at Kinibeki and Malebarre. Now among these exhausting labors they gave not over making good cheere, with that which both the Sea and Land might furnish in that region. For in this Port is plenty of Fowle, in taking of which many of our men applied themselves: especially the Sea Larkes are there in so great flights that Monsieur de Poutrincourt killed eight and twenty of them with one Caliver shot. As for fishes, there be such abundance of Porpeses, and another kinde of fish, called by Frenchmen Souffleurs (*that is to say, Blowers*), that the Sea seemes to be covered all over with them. But they had not the things necessary for this kinde of fishing. They contented themselves then with shel-fish, as of Oysters, Skalops, Periwinkles, whereof there was enough. The Savages on the other hand did bring fish, and Grapes within baskets made of rushes, for exchange with some of our wares.

[Monsieur de Poutrincourt, admiring the splendid grapes, commanded his servant to load into his boat a bundle of the vines that produced them. Master Louis Hebert, our apothecary, wishing to live in that country, had also uprooted a great quantity of them intending to plant them at Port Royal, where no grapes are found although the soil there is well adapted to vine growing. Nevertheless (by a stupid oversight) these orders were not performed, to the great displeasure of the Sieur and of us all.]

After certaine dayes, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, seeing there great assembly of Savages, came ashore, and to give them some terrour, made to march before him one of his

men, flourishing with two naked swords and making a great sword-play. Whereat they much wondred, but yet much more when they saw that our Muskets did pierce thicke peeces of wood, where their Arrows could not so much as scratch. And therefore they never assailed our men, as long as they kept watch. And it had been good to sound the Trumpet at every houres end, as Captaine James Quartier did. For (as Monsieur de Poutrincourt doth often say) one must never lay bait for theeves; meaning, that one must never give cause to any enemy to thinke that he may surprise you: But one must alwayes shew that he is mistrusted, and that you are not asleepe, chiefly when one hath to doe with Savages, which will never set upon him that resolutely expects them.

[Those who did not heed these instructions paid dearly for their rashness, as we shall recount.

At the end of fifteen days Monsieur de Poutrincourt, having completed the repairing of his boat and seeing that there remained but one ovenful of bread to finish, started out to reconnoiter the country for a distance of about three leagues to see whether he could discover anything unusual. Upon his return he and his companions observed natives fleeing among the trees in groups of twenty, thirty or more—some crouching as they ran like people who wish to be concealed; others squatting in the bushes, so as not to be seen; some bearing their belongings and their canoes full of wheat, as if about to emigrate, the women carrying their children and as much of their possessions as they could. Monsieur de Poutrincourt knew at once that some deviltry was on foot. As soon as he reached the landing-place, he commanded the men engaged in baking the bread to withdraw to the boat. But as young folks are often heedless of their duty, so these preferred providing for their appetites rather than to obey commands. They let themselves be tempted by the prospect of their cakes and tarts, and when night fell they had not come on the boat.

At midnight Monsieur de Poutrincourt, thinking of what had happened during the day, called out to know if they were all aboard. Hearing that they were not, he sent out the shallop to bring them. But they were unwilling to hearken, save only his valet, who was afraid of being beaten. They were five men and were armed with swords and muskets which they had been warned to keep always ready. Nevertheless, so devoted to their own pleasure were they that they kept no watch whatever. It was said that some time before they had twice shot at the natives because one of them had stolen an axe. At all events the savages, whether angered by that deed or simply out of pure deviltry, at dawn stole up silently (which is an easy matter for them, having no horses, vehicles, or sabots) to the place where our men lay sleeping and, seeing the opportunity was good for an attack, fell upon them with arrows and clubs. Two of our men were killed, and the rest, wounded, fled to the shore shouting for help. The sentinel in the boat cried out in terror, "To arms! They kill our men!" At this call every one jumped out of bed and flew to the shallop without waiting to dress or light tinder. Ten men jumped into the shallop, among whom I now recall Monsieur Champlain, Robert Gravé, son of Monsieur du Pont, Daniel Hay, the ship's surgeon, the apothecary, and the trumpeter. All of these followed Monsieur de Poutrincourt, who had with him his son, and all, naked as they were, leaped on land. But the natives fled at full speed, more than three hundred of them, not including those hidden in the bushes (as is their manner of warfare), who did not show themselves at all. It was an instance of the terror God's people can inspire in the breasts of infidels according to his word to his chosen people: "There shall no man be able to stand before you; for the Lord your God shall lay the fear of you and the dread of you upon all the land that ye shall tread upon, as he hath said unto you."¹ And we know that a

¹ Deut., chap. xi, 25.

hundred and thirty-five thousand Midianites fell upon each other and then fled before Gideon and his three hundred men.¹

It was useless to think of pursuing these light footed natives. With horses they would be an easy prey, for there are many by-paths leading from one place to another (such as we do not have at Port Royal) and there are open woods and level stretches of country where they have their cabins in the midst of their fields.

While Monsieur de Poutrincourt was landing, the men in the boat fired with the small cannon on some savages who showed themselves on a knoll, and several were seen to fall. But they are so skillful in carrying off their dead that it is only possible to guess about it. Monsieur de Poutrincourt, perceiving that pursuit would be fruitless, ordered coffins to be made for the interment of those who were killed, who were, as I said, two in number; but a third died on the shore while attempting to save himself, and a fourth later at Port Royal died from his arrow wounds. A fifth who was pierced in the breast with an arrow was saved, but it would have been better for all concerned had he died also, for we have recently heard that he has been hung as the ringleader of a conspiracy against Champlain at the settlement which the Sieur de Monts founded at Quebec, upon the great river of Canada.

This disaster was due to the folly and disobedience of one man (whom I will not name, since he died on account of it). This fellow played the braggart (*faisoit le coq*) among the younger people of the company, who confided in him too much. Otherwise he was a fairly good fellow. Because an attempt was made to prevent him from getting tipsy he had sworn (according to his custom) that he would not return to the boat at all; which in fact he did not do, for he was found dead, face downward on the ground, a little dog on his back, both stitched together and pierced by the same arrow.

¹ Judges, chap. vii.

By this prophecy I am reminded of two others of the same sort that contributed to the safety of France on Saint Mark's Eve in the year 1617. They concern the Marquis d'Ancre and seem to have been overlooked by those who have written about his death.

The first relates to Barbin, who was made Controller-General of Finance in place of Monsieur le President Jeannin, who was too good a Frenchman to keep the place. Monsieur Barbin, who saw three or four Princes and certain Lords, solitary and feeble, stand out against the tyranny that the Marquis d'Ancre¹ imposed in the name of the King, prophesied that they could not hold out later than the end of May, and that then these Princes and Lords (who were sacrificing themselves for their fatherland) would be obliged to abandon the struggle. His prediction had every appearance of coming true. But God in His justice intervened, and beyond all expectation strengthened the courage and will of that young Royal Prince so that as by a whirlwind this haughty power, which seemed to show how high Fortune can lift a man, was prostrated in the dust and completely wrecked by the death of that ambitious man too drunk with the favors that he merited not.

The other prophecy concerns this same Marquis d'Ancre. On his last journey to Paris he stopped at Ecoüi, seven leagues distant from Rouen. There a woman servant of "L'Epée Royale," the inn where he was lodged, complained to him that the war cost them dear and sent them no lodgers. As he left, he said to her, "My good woman, I am going to Paris. If I return we will have war, if I do not we will have peace"; which happened, but not in the way he intended; for surely he did not expect to die so soon. His greatly desired and

¹ Concini, Marshal d'Ancre, a Florentine favorite of Mary de Medici, wife of Henry IV, and supreme in France for seven years after Henry's murder. He was killed in 1617 by the order of young Louis XIII, who in so doing took the control of the State into his own hands with the help of his new favorite, the Duc de Luynes.

most necessary death brought to us peace at once, rescued the good and patriotic Princes from utter ruin, and saved the King and all the Royal House, whose power and existence were hanging by a thread which seemed destined to be speedily cut by that accursed foreigner.

Therefore many make prophecies oftentimes against their own idea and intention. A notorious instance of which, in sacred history, is the story of Baalam.

But to return to our Armouchiquois.

In this unfortunate affair Monsieur de Poutrincourt's son had three fingers torn off by a musket that burst from having been too fully charged. This added another grief to the already afflicted company. Nevertheless they did their duty by their dead, burying them at the foot of the cross that I have before mentioned. But the barbarians showed great insolence after the murders that they had committed, for as our people chanted above their dead the funeral prayers and hymns prescribed by the church, those rascals danced and howled in the distance exulting over their treachery. Though they were in great number, they dared not attack our men. These rites ended, and the sea being at low-tide, our men went again aboard the boat where Monsieur Champ-doré had remained on guard. Now these evil savages waited until the tide was too low for our men to come to land again and then returned to the scene of their murders. They tore down the cross, unearthed one of our dead, and taking off his shirt dressed one of their number in it and displayed the booty which they had carried off. Meantime some turned their backs upon our ship and, mocking, scooped up sand and threw it at our boat from between their buttocks, howling all the while like wolves. Our men were in a fine fury and fired upon them from the cannon; but the distance was great, and, too, they employ always their ruse of throwing themselves on the ground when we fire so we never know whether or not they are wounded.

There was nothing to do but drink this bitter cup and await full tide. When it came and the savages saw our men getting into the shallow they fled like hares, relying upon their nimbleness. A Sagamos named Chkoudun, of whom I have before spoken, was among our men all this while. He was greatly angered and wished to go out alone and fight the whole multitude, but of course was not permitted to do so. Our men raised up the cross with reverence, and buried again the dead body which had been disinterred.

And this was the port named "Port Fortuné."

The next day Monsieur de Poutrincourt hoisted sail intending to start out to seek new lands; but contrary winds forced him to put back. The following day he had no better success, and it was necessary to remain quiet until the wind was favorable.

During this delay the natives (thinking, I suppose, that what had happened was only sport) came back attempting this time to be friendly and offering to trade, pretending it was not they, but others, who had attacked our men. They evidently knew not the wise fable of the stork who found herself among the cranes caught in the act of crime, and who therefore was punished with them in spite of all her arguments to prove that instead of doing evil she wrought good by purging the earth of the serpents she ate.

Monsieur de Poutrincourt allowed the savages to approach as if he was willing to trade. They brought tobacco, chains, collars and bracelets made of periwinkle shells (called "Esurgni" in the narrative of Jacques Quartier's second voyage) highly esteemed among them; wheat, beans, bows, arrows, quivers and trifling trinkets. And as the acquaintance was renewed, Monsieur de Poutrincourt ordered nine or ten men to arrange the laces or straps of their muskets in the form of a lasso, and when he should give the signal throw each man his cord over the head of the savage with whom he was speaking, and to grip

it as the executioner holds his victim. He ordered half the company to land, the others to engage the natives in trading about the shallop. This plan was carried out, but, unfortunately, too precipitately and with no great success. Monsieur de Poutrincourt hoped to take them prisoners so as to be able to employ them to turn the hand mills and to cut wood. Nevertheless six or seven who could not run in water as well as on land were cut down and hacked to pieces, escape being impossible because of those of the company waiting for them on land. The forementioned native, Chkoudun, was bringing one of the heads of these people, but chanced to lose it in the water. He grieved so sorely over this that he wept hot tears.

The next day an attempt was made to depart notwithstanding a contrary wind. Little progress was made. An island six or seven leagues in length was seen and an unsuccessful attempt made to reach it. They called it "l' Isle Douteuse."

Considering all this, and also the fear that provisions would fail, that approaching winter would hinder travel, and, besides, that there were two sick men whose recovery was despaired of,]

Counsell being taken, it was resolved to returne into Port Royall: Monsieur de Poutrincourt besides all this, being yet in care of them whom he had left there, so they came againe for the third time into Port Fortuné, where no Savage was seene. Upon the first winde, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt weighed anker for the returne, and being mindfull of the dangers passed he sailed in open Sea: which shortned his course, but not without a great mischiefe of the rudder, which was againe broken; in such sort, that being at the mercy of the waves, they arrived in the end, as well as they could amongst the Ilands of Norombega, where they mended it.

[Leaving this place they came to Menane, an island about six leagues long between Sainte Croix and Port Royal, where they again waited for wind. New disasters followed their departure from this point. The shallop, which was attached to

the boat, was dashed by a wave against the boat with such force that its prow smashed into the rear of the vessel where were Monsieur de Poutrincourt and several others. Meantime, having scarcely made the entrance of the passage into Port Royal, the tide, which is very strong in that place, was carrying them towards the end of the French Bay from whence it would not be easy to emerge. Thus they found themselves in the greatest danger they had yet known. Attempting to turn about in their course they were carried by the tide and the wind toward the coast which here has high rocks and precipices. In doubling one menacing point they thought their end had come. But in these noble enterprises God often thus proves the courage of those who fight for his name to see if their faith cannot be shaken. He leads them oftentimes to the very gates of hell, i.e., to the very doors of their sepulchres, yet all the while holds them by the hand that they fall not into the grave, as is written :

“See now that I, even I, am he, and there is no God besides me! I kill, and I make alive; I wound, and I heal: neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand.”¹

We have often spoken of the many and great dangers encountered on this voyage, yet never was a single man lost at sea, as so often happens among those who fish for cod or trade for furs. Just as we were on the point of returning to France four fishermen from St. Malo were engulfed in the waters.

God wished us to recognize that our blessings come from Him, so he manifested His glory to us in these ways to the end that we might know Him as Author of these pious expeditions that are not undertaken for gain, (nor carried on by the unjust shedding of blood) but in a holy zeal to establish His name and His greatness among the peoples who know Him not. After so many favors from heaven those who received them can say with the Psalmist-King beloved of God: “Never-

¹ Deut., chap. xxxii, 39.

theless I am continually with thee; Thou hast holden me by my right hand. Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel, and afterward receive me to glory.”¹

After many perils (I will not compare them to those of Ulysses and Æneas, for I wish not to stain our missionary voyages with such pagan associations) Monsieur de Poutrincourt arrived at Port Royal on the fourteenth day of November, where we received him joyfully and with unusual solemnity. For because we had awaited him with exceeding great desire (the more because if any evil had befallen him we should have found ourselves in great trouble), I ventured to express the feeling of the moment in a bit of literary mirthfulness. And inasmuch as this was done in French verse made in a hurry I have put it with “*Les Muses de la Nouvelle France*,” under the title “*Théâtre de Neptune*,” to which I refer my reader.

In order to signalize still further this turning point in our enterprise, we placed over the door of the fort the arms of France crowned with laurel (which grows in quantity along the edges of the woods here) and the device of our King, *Duo protegit unus*. Beneath them we put the arms of Monsieur de Monts with this inscription, *Dabit Deus his quoque finem*; and those of Monsieur de Poutrincourt with *In via virtuti nulla est via*; both of these also wreathed with chaplets of laurel.]

¹ Ps. lxxiii, 23, 24.

“Tu m’as tenu la dextre, & ton sage vouloir
M’a seurement guidé, iusqu’à me faire voir
Mainte honorable grace
En cette terre basse.”

FRENCH EXPLORERS: L'ESCARBOT

Chapter XVI.

State of the crops : Institution of "l'Ordre de Bon-temps" : Behavior of the savages among the Frenchmen : Kind of winter : Why rain and fogs are rare in this season : Why rains are frequent in Tropics : Snow useful for the earth : Weather in January : Comparison of weather in Old and New France : Why spring is late here : Cultivation of gardens : Results from same : A water-mill : A manna of fish : Preparation for the return : Monsieur de Poutrincourt's invention : Admiration of the savages : News from France.

The publike rejoicing being finished, Monsieur de Poutrincourt had a care to see his corne, the greatest part whereof he had sowed two leagues off from our Port, by the River L'Esquelle; and the other part about our said Port: and found that which was first sowed very forward, but not the last that had been sowed the sixth and tenth days of November, which notwithstanding did grow under the Snow during Winter, as I have noted it in my sowings. It would be a tedious thing to particularise all that was done amongst us during Winter: as to tell how the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt caused many times coales to be made, the forge-coale being spent: That he caused waies to be made thorow the woods: That he went thorow the Forrests by the guide of the Compasse, and other things of such nature. But I will relate that, for to keepe us merry and cleanly concerning victuals, there was an order established at the Table of the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, which was named "L'ordre de bon temps," the order of good time (or the order of mirth) at first invented by Monsieur Champlein, wherein they (who were of the same table) were every one at his turne and day (which was in fifteene dayes once) Steward and Caterer. Now his care was that he should have good and wirshipfull fare, which was so well observed, that (although the Belly-gods of these parts doe often reproach unto us that we had not *La Rue aux Ours* of Paris with us) we have ordinarily had there as good cheere as we could have at *La Rue aux Ours*, and at

farre lesser charges. For there was none, but (two dayes before his turne came) was carefull to goe ahunting or fishing, and brought some daintie thing, besides that which was of our ordinary allowance. So well, that at breakfast we never wanted some modicum or other, of fish or flesh: and at the repast of dinners or suppers, yet lesse; for it was the great banquet, where the Architrclin, or Governour of the feast, or Steward (whom the Savages doe call Atoctegis), having made the Cooke to make all things ready, did march with his Napkin on his shoulder, and his staffe of office in his hand, with the colour of the order about his necke, which was worth above foure crownes, and all of them of the order following him, bearing every one a dish. The like also was at the bringing in of the Fruit, but not with so great a traine. And at night after grace was said, he resigned the Collar of the Order, with a cup of wine, to his successor in that charge, and they dranke one to another. I have heretofore said that we had abundance of Fowle, as Mallards, Outards, Geese gray and white, Partridges and other Birds: Item, of Elans, or Stag-flesh, of Caribous or Deere, Bevers, Otters, Beares, Rabbets, Wilde-cats or Leopards, Nibaches, and such like, which the Savages did take, wherewith we made as good dishes of meate, as in the Cookes shops that be in *La rue aux Ours*, Beare Streete, and greater store: for of all meates none is so tender as Ellans flesh (whereof we made good pasties) nor so delicate as the Beavers-taile. Yea, we have had sometimes halfe a dosen Sturgions at one clap, which the Savages did bring to us, part whereof we did take, paying for it, and the rest was permitted them to sell publicly, and to trucke it for Bread, whereof our people had abundantly. And as for the ordinary meate brought out of France, that was distributed equally, as much to the least as to the biggest. And the like with Wine, as we have said. In such actions we had alwayes twenty or thirty Savages, men, women, girls, and Boies who beheld us doing our offices. Bread

was given them gratis, as we doe here to the poore. But as for the Sagamos Membertou, and other Sagamos (when they came to us) they sat at table eating and drinking as we did; and wee tooke pleasure in seeing them, as contrariwise their absence was irksome unto us; as it came to passe three or foure times that all went away to the places where they knew that game and Venison was, and brought one of our men with them, who lived some six weekes as they did without Salt, without Bread, and without Wine, lying on the ground upon skins, and that in snowie weather. Moreover they had greater care of him (as also of others that have often gone with them) than of themselves, saying, that if they should chance to dye, it would be laid to their charges to have killed them.

[All of which shows that we were not imprisoned on an island as, for example, was Monsieur de Villegagnon in Brazil. These savage people love the Frenchmen and upon necessity will all fly to arms to protect them.]

Such government as we have spoken of, did serve us for preservatives against the Country disease. And yet foure of ours died in February and March, of them who were of a fretfull condition or sluggish. And I remember I observed that all had their lodgings on the West side, and looking towards the wide open Port, which is almost foure leagues long, shaped ovalewise, besides they had all of them ill bedding. [Because of the foregoing sicknesses and of the departure of Monsieur du Pont as was described above, we had to throw away the rotten mattresses; and those who left with Monsieur du Pont took most of the sheets with them, claiming them as their own. So several of our number fell ill with sore mouths and swollen legs, like those afflicted with phtisic, the illness God sent upon those of his people in the desert who fattened themselves gluttonously on flesh, not being content with that food which the desert furnished them by the command of the Divine Benevolence.]

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

We had faire weather during almost all the Winter: for neither raines nor fogges are so frequent there as here, whether it be at Sea or on the land: The reason is, because the Sunbeames, by the long distance, have not the force to raise up vapours from the ground here chiefly in a Countrey all wooddy. But in Summer it doth, both from the Sea and the Land, when as their force is augmented, and those vapors are dissolved suddenly or slowly, according as one approacheth to the Equinoctiall line.

[In the tropics the rain is always abundant both on land and on sea. Especially is this true in Peru and in Mexico (more so than in Africa) because of the amount of moisture which the sun draws up in crossing the great expanse of the ocean. It resolves these vapors in a moment by the great power of its heat. Near Newfoundland these vapors remain in the air a long time before falling as rain or before being scattered. In summer there is more rain than in winter, and on the sea more than on land. On land the morning fogs disappear at about eight o'clock, on the sea they last two and three and even eight days, as we have often experienced.]

While we are talking about the winter, let us say that Raines are in that season rare. The Sunne likewise shineth there very faire after the fall of Snowes, which we have had seven or eight times, but it is easily melted in open places, and the longest abiding have beene in February. Howsoever it be, the Snow is very profitable for the fruits of the earth, to preserve them against the frost, and to serve them as a fur-gowne.

[In this we see an admirable Providence protecting the labor of man from ruin. As the Psalmist says: "He giveth snow like wool; he scattereth the hoar frost like ashes. He casteth forth his ice like morsels; who can stand before his cold."]¹

¹ Psalm cxlvii, 16. "Il donne la nege chenuë
Comme laine à tas blanchissant,
Et comme la cendre menuë
Repand les frimas brouissans."

And as the skie is seldome covered with clouds towards New-found-land in Winter time, so are there morning frosts, which doe increase in the end of January, February, and in the beginning of March, for untill the very time of January, we kept us still in our doublets: And I remember that on a Sunday, the fourteenth day of the moneth, in the afternoone, wee sported our selves singing in Musicke upon the River L'Esquelle, and in the same moneth wee went to see Corne two leagues off from our Fort, and did dine merrily in the Sunshine: I would not for all that say that all other yeares were like unto this. For as that Winter was as milde in these parts, these last Winters of the yeares 1607, 1608, have beene the hardest that ever was seene. It hath also beene alike in those Countries, in such sort that many Savages died through the rigour of the weather, as in these our parts many poore people and travellers have beene killed through the same hardnesse of Winter weather. But I will say, that the yeare before we were in New France, the Winter had not beene so hard, as they which dwelt there before us have testified unto me. Let this suffice for that which concerneth the Winter season. But I am not yet fully satisfied in searching the cause, why in one and the selfesame parallel the season is in those parts of New France more slow by a moneth than in these parts, and the leaves appeare not upon the trees but towards the end of the moneth of May: unlesse wee say that the thicknesse of the wood and greatnesse of Forrests doe hinder the Sunne from warming of the ground: Item, that the Country where we were is joyning to the Sea, and thereby more subject to cold. [Peru for the same reason is colder than parts of Africa.] And besides that, the land having never beene tilled is the more dampish, the trees and plants not being able easily to draw sap from their mother the earth. In recompence whereof the Winter there is also more slow, as we have heretofore spoken.

The cold being passed, about the end of March the best

disposed amongst us strived who should best till the ground, and make Gardens, to sowe in them, and gather fruits thereof. Which was to very good purpose, for wee found great discommodity in the Winter for want of Garden hearbes. When every one had done his sowing, it was a marveilous pleasure in seeing them daily grow and spring up, and yet greater contentment to use thereof so abundantly as wee did: so that this beginning of good hope made us almost forget our native Countrie, and especially when the fish began to haunt fresh-water, and came abundantly into our brookes, in such innumerable quantity that we knew not what to doe with it. [Seeing this I am the more and more astonished that in Florida, where they are practically without winter, the colonists ever suffer from famine, and above all that they should have famine in April, May and June, the months when fish cannot be lacking there.]

Whilist some laboured on the ground, Monsieur de Poutrincourt made some buildings to be prepared, for to lodge them which he hoped should succede us. And considering how troublesome the Hand-mill was, he caused a Water-mill to be made, which caused the Savages to admire much at it. For indeede it is an invention which came not into the spirit of men from the first ages. After that, our workmen had much rest, for the most part of them did almost nothing. But I may say that this Mill, by the diligence of our Millers, did furnish us with three times more Herrings than was needefull unto us for our sustenance. [At high tide the sea came up to the mill, and the herrings came also, to sport a couple of hours in fresh water. When the tide went out they went with it and were then prey for our men.] Monsieur de Poutrincourt made two Hogsheads full of them to be salted, and one hogshead of Sardines, or Pilchers to bring into France for a shew, which were left in our returne at Saint Maloes, to some Merchants.

Among all these things the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt did not neglect to thinke on his returne. Which was the part

of a wise man, for one must never put so much trust in mens promises, but one must consider that very often many disasters doe happen to them in a small moment of time. And therefore, even in the Moneth of Aprill, he made two Barkes to be prepared, a great one and a small one, to come to seeke out French-ships towards Campseau, or New-found-land, if it should happen that no supply should come unto us. But the Carpen-try-worke being finished, one onely inconvenience might hinder us, that is, we had no Pitch to calke our Vessels. This (which was the chieftest thing) was forgotten at our departure from Rochel. In this important necessitie, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt advised himselfe to gather in the woods quantity of the gumme issuing from Firre-trees. Which he did with much labour, going thither himselfe most often with a boy or two: so that in the end hee got some hundred pounds weight of it. Now after these labours, it was not yet all, for it was needefull to melt and purifie the same, which was a necessary point and unknowne to our ship-Master Monsieur de Champdoré, and to his Marriners, for as much as that the Pitch we have, commeth from Norwege, Suedland, and Danzick. Neverthelesse the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt found the meanes to draw out the quintessence of these Gummes and Firre-tree barkes: and caused quantity of Bricks to be made, with the which he made an open furnace, wherein he put a limbecke made with many kettles, joyned one in the other, which hee filled with those gummes and barkes: Then being well covered, fire was put round about it, by whose violence the gumme enclosed within the lembecke melted, and dropped downe into a bason; but it was needefull to be very watchfull at it, by reason that if the fire had taken hold of the Gumme, all had benee lost. That was admirable, especially in a man that never saw any made. Whereof the Savages being astonied, did say in words borrowed from the Basques, *Endia chavé Normandia*, that is to say, that the Normans know many things. Now they

call all Frenchmen Normands, except the Basques, because the most part of fishermen that goe afishing there, be of that Nation. This remedie came very fitly unto us, for those which came to seeke us were fallen into the same want that we were.

[One who waits and expects has no rest nor peace until the object desired arrives. So our men had their eyes ever fixed on the horizon to discover an approaching vessel. Many times they were deceived, thinking that they heard a cannon-shot or saw the sails of a vessel. Often they mistook the numerous native boats for the shallops of Frenchmen. The natives passed in great numbers these days on their way to the Armouchiquois war, about which we shall speak in the following book. At last our hopes were fulfilled¹ and in the morning of Ascension Day we had news from France.]

Chapter XVII.

Arrival of the French : Monsieur de Monts' colony disbanded : Reason : Greed of those who rob even the dead : Bonfires in celebration of the birth of the Duke of Orleans : Departure of the savages for war : The chief Membertou : Voyages along the coast of the French Bay : Sordid trafficking : City of Ouïgoudi : How the savages go on long journeys : Their evil intentions : Iron mines : Seals' voices : Condition of the Island Sainte Croix : Champlain's error : Love of the savages for their children : Return to Port Royal.

The Sunne did but beginne to cheere the earth, and to behold his Mistris with an amorous aspect, when the Sagamos Membertou (after our Prayers solemnly made to God, and the break-fast distributed to the people, according to the custome) came to give us advertisement that he had seene a sayle upon the Lake, which came towards our Fort. At this joyfull newes every one went out to see, but yet none was found that had so good a sight as he, though he be above a 100. yeeres old; neverthesse we spied very soone what it was. [Monsieur de

¹ (Enfin on cria tant Noé qu'il vint.)

Poutrincourt in all haste made ready the small boat to go out to meet the approaching sail. Monsieur Champ-doré and Daniel Hay set forth in it. From their signals we knew it was a friendly vessel and at once we saluted our visitors with four cannon and a dozen small guns. They also failed not to begin rejoicing; they discharged their artillery, to which payment was returned with interest.] It was onely a small Bark under the charge of a young man of Saint Maloes, named Chevalier, who being arrived at the Fort, delivered his Letters to Monsieur de Poutrincourt, which were read publikely. They did write unto him, that for to helpe to save the charges of the Voyage, the ship (being yet the Jonas) should stay at Campseau Port, there to fish for Cods, by reason that the Merchants associate with Monsieur de Monts knew not that there was any fishing farther than that place: Notwithstanding if it were necessary he should cause the ship to come to Port Royall. Moreover, that the grant was revoked, because that contrary to the King his Edict, the Hollanders, (who owe so much to France) conducted by a traiterous Frenchman, called La Jeunesse, had the yeere before taken up the Bevers and other Furses, of the great River of Canada. [This dishonest act had turned to the detriment of the Society and they feared they would be unable to furnish further funds for the expedition. The privilege to trade for beaver furs, given to Monsieur de Monts for ten years, was now withdrawn, a disaster never dreamt of. For this reason no more men were to be sent out to replace us. Our joy at receiving assurance of succor was dampened by our grief at the thought of the ruin of this beautiful and pious enterprise. So many hardships endured, so many perils met,—for nothing. All our hopes of here planting the name of God and the Catholic faith vanished.] Notwithstanding, after that Monsieur de Poutrincourt had a long while mused hereupon, he said that although he should have no bodie to come with him but onely his family, hee would not

forsake the enterprize. It was great griefe unto us to abandon (without hope of returne) a Land that had produced unto us so faire Corne, and so many faire adorned Gardens. All that could be done untill that time, was to find out a place fit to make a settled dwelling, and a Land of good fertilitie. And that being done, it was great want of courage to give over the enterprise, for another yeare being passed, the necessitie of maintayning an habitation there should be taken away, for the Land was sufficient to yeeld things necessarie for life. This was the cause of that griefe which pierced the hearts of them which were desirous to see the Christian Religion established in that Countrey. But on the contrary, Monsieur de Monts, and his associates, reaping no benefit, but losse, and having no helpe from the King, it was a thing which they could not doe but with much difficultie to maintayne an habitation in those parts.

Now this envie for the Trade of Beavers with the Savages, found not onely place in the Hollanders hearts, but also in French Merchants, in such sort that the priviledge which had beene given to the said Monsieur de Monts for ten yeeres was revoked. The unsatiabie avarice of men is a strange thing, which have no regard to that which is honest, so that they may rifle and catch by what meanes soever. And thereupon I will say moreover, that there have beene some of them that came to that Countrey to fetch us home, that wickedly have presumed so much as to strip the dead, and steale away the Beavers, which those poore people doe put for their last benefit upon them whom they bury, as we will declare more at large in the Booke following. A thing that maketh the French name to be odious, and worthy disdaine among them which have no such sordid qualitie at all, [but rather hearts noble and generous. It is their custom to hold all in common, no man having any thing solely his own. To those they love and honor they make liberal presents, as far as lies in their means.

Besides this evil, it happened, while we were at Campseau, that the savages killed him who had made known to our men the graves of their dead. I am reminded here of Herodotus' account of King Darius' villainy and of how when he thought to find the mother on the nest (as the saying is), that is to say: grand treasure in the tomb of Semiramis, Queen of the Babylonians, he found there only a writing which rebuked him sharply for his greed and wickedness.

To return to our sad news and to our regrets for it. Monsieur de Poutrincourt asked of the company who among them would be willing to remain there one year. Eight good companions presented themselves. They were each promised a cask of wine (of that which remained to us) and wheat in sufficient quantity, but they asked besides this such high wages that no agreement could be reached. Nothing remained but to face the return to France.

Nevertheless in the evening we built bonfires in honor of the birth of Monseigneur the Duke of Orleans and fired off our cannon and small pieces and volleys of musketry, after having first solemnly chanted the *Te Deum*. The messenger, Chevalier, had been captain of the vessel now at Campseau, so they had intrusted him with a great stock of provisions for us, viz.: six sheep, twenty-four hens, one pound pepper, twenty pounds rice, the same number pounds raisins and prunes, one thousand pounds of almonds, one pound nutmeg, a quarter pound cinnamon, a half pound cloves, two pounds lemon peel, two dozen lemons and as many oranges, a ham from Mayence, six other hams, a cask of Gascon wine, one of Spanish wine, a barrel of salt beef, four and a half pots olive oil, one jar olives, one barrel vinegar and two loaves of sugar — and the whole lost en route (down the throats of those intrusted to bring it). I mention the list of things sent, however, thinking it may serve as a guide to the provisionment of some future expedition.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

The chickens and sheep died during the voyage (he said), which we can easily believe. We wished, however, that he had brought us the bones. He added further that he had felt sure in any event we were all dead. Behold the foundation of the gluttonous feasting! Nevertheless we made good cheer for Chevalier and his men, who were not few in number, and not so temperate in drinking as the late M. le Marquis Pisani. They were well pleased to stay with us. On their boat they had had for some time only well watered cider to drink.

But from the first day Chevalier talked of departing at once. However Monsieur de Poutrincourt kept him in hope for eight days, then seeing he was quite determined upon leaving, Monsieur de Poutrincourt helped him and his men into their boat. He had detained him on account of a report that Chevalier had declared at Campseau that he would hoist sail on his ship and leave us in the lurch.]

Fifteene dayes after, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt sent a Barke to Campseau, with part of our Workmen, for to beginne to pull downe the house. In the beginning of June the Savages, about foure hundred in number, went away from the dwelling that the Sagamos Membertou had newly made, in forme of a Towne, compassed about with high pales, for to go to warres against the Armouchiquois, which was at Chouakoet some eightie leagues distant from Port Royall; from whence they returned victorious, [by the stratagemms that I have described in my French poem about this war.

The savages were nearly two months gathering together. Membertou, the great Sagamos, had sent messengers (his two sons Actandin and Actandinech) to them during and before the winter giving them rendezvous here.

This Sagamos is already a very old man. He saw Jacques Quartier in this country, was even married and had children at that time, yet now he looks not more than fifty years old. He was a fierce and bloody warrior in his young days and has

now many enemies. They say it is for that reason that he is very pleased to be friendly with the French, that he may live in more security. During this assembly it was necessary to make him many presents—gifts of wheat and beans, and even a barrel of wine with which to feast his friends. For he explained to Monsieur de Poutrincourt, “I am the Sagamos of this country. It is known that I am friendly to you and to all the Normans and that you think much of me, and it would be a reproach to me if I had nothing to show for this friendship.” Meantime another chief named Chkoudun, incited by envy or some other feeling, also a friend of the French, brought us word that Membertou was secretly plotting against us and had made a speech to that effect. Monsieur de Poutrincourt sent at once for Membertou, thinking to frighten him and to see if he would obey. At the first order, he came immediately among us and alone, without the least reluctance. So he was given some of the wine he liked so much (for he said he could sleep so well after drinking it, and had then no cares or fears), and he was allowed to return to his friends in peace.

This Membertou told us that he wished to present his mine of copper to our King, when he saw that we prized metals highly. He said moreover that chiefs must always be honest and liberal with one another. For he considered himself the equal of our King and of all his lieutenants, and often styled himself great friend and brother companion of Monsieur de Poutrincourt. This equality he showed by joining his two index fingers. Although his offering to the King was not of great value yet it showed his good feeling and it must be prized as if it were most precious. The King of Persia once accepted from a poor peasant a handful of water as if it were the richest of his presents. If Membertou had had more he would have generously offered more.]

Monsieur de Poutrincourt being not willing to depart thence, untill hee had seene the issue of his expectation, that is to say,

the ripenesse of his Corne, hee deliberated, after that the Savages were gone to warres, to make Voyages along the Coast. And because Chevalier was desirous to gather some Bevers, he sent him in a small Barke to the River of Saint John, called by the Savages, Oüigoudi, and to the Ile Saint Croix: And he, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt, went in a shallop to the Copper Myne. I was of the said Chevalier his Voyage: we crossed the French Bay to goe to the said River, where, as soone as wee arrived, halfe a doozen Salmons newly taken, were brought to us: we sojourned there foure dayes, during which we went into the Cabins of Sagamos Chkoudun, where we saw some eightie, or a hundred Savages, all naked except their privie members, which were a making Tabagy (that is to say, a banquetting) with the meale that the said Chevalier had trucked with them for their old skinnes full of Lice, [for they would sell only the skins they did not want themselves. I cannot praise this sordid trafficking. But the odor of gain is to some soft and sweet no matter what its source, as it must have been to the Emperor Vespasian when he accepted in his hand the tribute from the public urinals of Rome.

The Sagamos Chkoudun wished to give us, while we were among them, the pleasure of seeing his men in battle array, so he made them to pass before us as they would go to the war, which display I will describe in another book.]

The Towne of Oüigoudi (so I call the dwelling of the said Chkoudun) was a great inclosure upon an Hill, compassed about with high and small Trees, tied one against another, and within it many Cabins, great and small, one of which was as great as a Market Hall, wherein many households retired themselves: And as for the same where they made their Tabagie it was somewhat lesse. A good part of the said Savages were of Gachepe,¹ which is the beginning of the great River of

¹ Gaspé.

Canada; and they told us, that they came from their dwelling thither in sixe dayes, which made me much to marvell, seeing the distance that there is by Sea, but they shorten very much their wayes, and make great Voyages by the meanes of Lakes and Rivers, at the end of which being come, in carrying their Canowes three or foure leagues, they get to other Rivers that have a contrary course. All these Savages were come thither to goe to the warres with Membertou against the Armouchiquois. [I have already spoken of this river Ouigoudi in my account of Monsieur de Monts' voyage.]

When we returned to our Barke, which was at the comming in of the Port, halfe a league off from thence, sheltered by a causie that the Sea hath made there, our men were in doubt, lest some mischance should happen unto us, and having seene the Savages in armes, thought it had beene to doe us some mischief, which had beene very easie for we were but two, and therefore they were very glad of our returne. After which, the next day came the Wizard or Sooth-sayer of that quarter, crying as a mad man towards our Barke. Not knowing what he meant, hee was sent for in a Cock-boat and came to parley with us, telling us that the Armouchiquois were within the Woods, which came to assaile them, and that they had killed some of their folkes that were a hunting: And therefore that we should come a-land to assist them. Having heard this discourse, which according to our judgement tended to no good, we told him that our journies were limited, and our victuals also, and that it was behoovefull for us to be gone. Seeing himselfe denied, he said that before two yeeres were come about, they would either kill all the Normans, or that the Normans should kill them. We mocked him and told him that we would bring our Barke before their Fort to ransack them all: but we did it not, for we went away that day: And having the wind contrarie, we sheltred ourselves under a small Iland, where we were two dayes: during which, some went a shooting at Mal-

lard for provision; others attended on the Cookerie: And Captaine Champdoré and my selfe, went along the Rockes with Hammers and Chissels, seeking if there were any Mynes. In doing whereof we found quantitie of Steele among the Rockes, which was since molten by Monsieur de Poutrincourt, who made wedges of it, and it was found very fine Steele, whereof he caused a Knife to be made, that did cut as a Razor, which at our returne he shewed to the King.

From thence we went in three dayes to the Ile Saint Croix, being often contraried with the winds. And because we had a bad conjecture of the Savages, which we did see in great number at the River of Saint John, and that the troupe that was departed from Port Royall was yet at Menane, (an Ile betweene the said Port Royall and Saint Croix) which we would not trust, we kept good watch in the night time: At which time wee did often heare Seales voyces, which were very like to the voice of Owles: A thing contrarie to the opinion of them that have said and written that fishes have no voice.

Being arrived at the Ile Saint Croix, we found there the buildings left there all whole, saving that the Store-house was uncovered of one side. Wee found there yet Sacke in the bottome of a Pipe, whereof we dranke, and it was not much the worse. As for Gardens, wee found there Coale-worts,¹ Sorrell, Lettuces, which we used for the Kitchin. Wee made there also good Pasties of Turtle Doves, which are very plentifull in the Woods, but the grasse is there so high that one could not find them when they were killed and fallen in the ground. The Court was there, full of whole Caskes, which some ill disposed Mariners did burne for their pleasures, which thing when I saw I did abhorre, and I did judge better than before that the Savages were (being lesse civilized) more humane and honest men then many that beare the Name of Christians, having during three yeeres spared that place, wherein they had not

¹ Cole-worts = collards = cabbages.

taken so much as a piece of Wood, nor Salt, which was there in great quantitie, as hard as a Rocke.

[I do not know for what reason Monsieur Champlain, in his narrative printed in 1613, says that I went no farther than Sainte Croix, inasmuch as I have never said the contrary. He seems to have a poor memory of where he himself went, for in one place (p. 151) he says that Sainte Croix is distant from Port Royal but fourteen leagues, while he has already said (p. 95) that the distance is twenty-five leagues, and if you consult his map you will find that he has estimated it as at least forty.]

Going from thence, we cast Anchor among a great number of confused Iles, where wee heard some Savages, and wee did call to make them come to us. They answered us with the like call. Whereunto one of ours replied, Ouen Kirau? that is to say, What are yee? they would not discover themselves. But the next day Oagimont, the Sagamos of this River, came to us, and wee knew it was he whom we heard. Hee did prepare to follow Membertou and his troupe to the warres, where he was grievously wounded, as I have said in my Verses upon this matter. This Oagimont hath a Daughter about eleven yeeres old, who is very comely, which Monsieur de Poutrincourt desired to have, and hath oftentimes demanded her of him to give her to the Queene, promising him that he should never want Corne, nor any thing else, but he would never condescend thereto.

Being entred into our Barke he accompanied us, untill wee came to the broad Sea, where hee put himselfe in his shallop to returne backe; and for us we bent our course for Port Royall where we arrived before day, but we were before our Fort just at the very time when faire Aurora began to shew her reddie cheekes upon the top of our woodie Hills; every bodie was yet asleepe, and there was but one that rose up by the continuall barking of Dogges; but wee made the rest soone

to awake, by Peales of Musket-shots and Trumpets sound. Monsieur de Poutrincourt was but the day before arrived from his Voyage to the Mynes, whither we have said that hee was to goe, and the day before that, was the Barke arrived that had carried part of our Workmen to Campseau. So that all being assembled, there rested nothing more then to prepare things necessary for our shipping. And in this businesse our Water-Mill did us very good service, for otherwise there had beene no meanes to prepare Meale enough for the Voyage, but in the end wee had more then wee had need of, which was given to the Savages, to the end to have us in remembrance.

Chapter XVIII.

Port of Campseau : Departure from Port Royal : Fogs lasting eight days : Rainbow in the water : Port Savalet : Tilling of the soil honorable occupation : Regrets of the savages upon the departure of Monsieur de Poutrincourt : Return to France : Voyage to Mont Saint Michel : Fruits from New France presented to the King : Voyages to New France after the return of Monsieur de Poutrincourt : Letter to the Holy Father at Rome.

Upon the point that we should take our leave of Port Royall, Monsieur de Poutrincourt sent his men, one after another, to find out the ship at Campseau, which is a Port being betweene seven or eight Ilands where ships may be sheltered from windes: and there is a Bay of above fifteene leagues depth, and six or seven leagues broad, the said place being distant from Port Royall above one hundred and fiftie leagues.

[We had one large boat, two small ones and the shallop. One of the small boats went ahead. On the thirtieth day of July the two others followed. I was in the large boat commanded by Champ-doré. Monsieur de Poutrincourt wished so to see the result of the wheat we had sown that he would wait for its maturity, and did not sail until eleven days later.

FRENCH EXPLORERS: LESCARBOT

The first day's trip took us as far as the strait of Port Royal; the second day out a dense fog overspread the sea and lasted for eight days. In that time we had all we could do to go as far as Cape Sable which we did not see at all. In this Cimmerian darkness our anchor dragged one night to such an extent that in the morning we found ourselves among rocky islands and it was a marvel that we had not been dashed to pieces.]

For victuals wee wanted for no fish, for in halfe an houres fishing we might take Cod enough for to feed us a fortnight, and of the fairest and fattest that ever I saw, being of the colour of Carpes: which I have never knowne nor noted, but in this part of the said Cap de Sable; which after we had passed, the tide (which is swift in this place) brought us in short time as farre as to the Port De La Heve, thinking that wee were no further then the Port de Mouton. There we tarried two dayes, and in the very same Port wee saw the Cods bite at the Hooke. We found there store of red Gooseberries, and a Marcassite of Copper Myne:[†] we also made there some trucking with the Savages for skinnes.

From thence forward we had wind at will, and during that time it happened once, that being upon the hatches I cried out to our Pilot Monsieur de Champdoré, that we were readie to strike, thinking I had seene the bottome of the Sea; but I was deceived by the Rain-bow which did appeare with all his colours in the water, procured by the shadow that our Boarespright sayle did make over the same, being opposite to the Sunne which, assembling his beames within the hollownesse of the same sayle (as it doth within the Cloudes) those beames were forced to make a reflection in the water, and to shew forth this wonder. In the end wee arrived within foure leagues of Campseau, at a Port where a good old man of Saint John de Lus, called Captaine Savalet, received us with all the kindnesse in the World. And for as much as this Port (which is little, but

[†] Crystallized iron pyrites.

very faire) hath no name, I have qualified it in my Geographical Mappe, with the name of Savalet. This good honest man told us that the same Voyage was the two and fortieth Voyage that he had made into these parts, and neverthesse the Newfoundland-men doe make but one in a yeere. He was marvelously pleased with his fishing; and told us moreover that hee tooke every day fiftie Crownes worth of fish, and that his Voyage would bee worth one thousand pounds. He payed wages to sixteene men, and his vessell was of eightie tuns, which could carrie 100000. pounds of dry fishes. [He said he was often annoyed by the natives who lived thereabouts. They would come very familiarly and impudently aboard his boat and take whatever they desired. He threatened them often with our coming, saying we would run them through with our swords if they did him any harm. This frightened them somewhat and they did not molest him as much as they otherwise would. Nevertheless every time that fishermen arrived with their shallops full of fish these savages boarded their boats and chose what they wished from among the fish, and they were not content with cod, but took haddock, bass and halibut, fish worth four crowns and more in Paris. These fish are marvelously good to eat, especially when like these they are large and six fingers in thickness. To have prevented this insolence entirely it would have been necessary to be always ready armed, which would have greatly hindered their work. Captain Savalet's courtesy was extended not only to us but to all of our men who passed by this port, which was on the way in going to and coming from Port Royal. There were some, I regret to say, who accepted his hospitality in a most unbecoming manner, who conducted themselves (I am sorry to say), as might a constable towards a citizen.]

Wee were foure dayes there by reason of the contrary wind. Then came we to Campseau, where we tarried for the other Barke which came two dayes after us. And as for Monsieur

de Poutrincourt, as soone as he saw that the Corne might be reaped, he pulled up some Rie, root and all, for to shew here the beautie, goodnesse and unmeasurable height of the same. Hee also made gleanes of the other sorts of Seeds, as Wheat, Barley, Oates, Hempe, and others for the same purpose.

[I rejoyce in the thought that I was one of the company and one of the first to cultivate this land. And it pleases me the more to remember that our ancient father Noah—great king, great priest and great prophet—followed the trade of gardener and vine-dresser. Then there was the ancient Roman captain Serranus who was found sowing his field when he was sent for to lead the Roman army; and Quintus Cincinnatus who, covered with dust, with head and belly bare, was plowing his four acres of land when the officer of the Senate brought to him his official appointment as Dictator. Indeed the officer was constrained to ask Cincinnatus to cover himself before delivering to him his message.]

Delighting myselfe in this exercise, God hath blessed my poore labour, and I have had in my Garden as faire Wheate as any can be in France, whereof the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt gave unto mee a gleane, when hee came to the said Port of Campseau, [and which I have kept (together with one of rye) these ten years.] Hee was readie to depart from Port Royall, when Membertou and his company arrived, victorious over Armouchiquois. [I have already described that war in French verse, and, as my desire is to abridge rather than lengthen my story, I will not here repeat the account.] At the instant request of the said Membertou he tarried yet one day. But it was pitious to see at his departing those poore people weepe, who had beene alwayes kept in hope that some of ours should alwayes tarrie with them. In the end promise was made unto them that, the yeere following, households and families should be sent thither, wholly to inhabit their Land, and teach them Trades for to make them live as wee doe, which promise

did somewhat comfort them. There was left remaying ten Hogs-heads of Meale, which were given to them, with the Corne that we had sowed, and the possession of the Manour if they would use it, which they have not done. For they cannot be constant in one place, and live as they doe.

The eleventh of August the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt departed, with eight in his companie, from the said Port Royall, in a shallop to come to Campseau: A thing marvellously dangerous to crosse so many Bayes and Seas in so small a vessell, laden with nine persons, with victuals necessarie for the Voyage, and reasonable great quantitie of other stuffe. Being arrived at the Port of Captaine Savalet, he received them all as kindly as it was possible for him: And from thence they came to us, to the said Port of Campseau, where we tarried yet eight dayes. The third day of September, we weighed Anchors, and with much adoe came wee from among the Rockes, that be about the said Campseau. Which our Mariners did with two shallops that did carrie their Anchors very farre into the Sea, for to uphold our ship, to the end she should not strike against the Rockes. Finally, being at Sea, one of the shallops was let goe, and the other was taken into the Jonas, which besides our lading, did carrie 100000. pounds of fish, as well drie as greene. Wee had reasonable good wind untill we came neere to the Lands of Europe: But we were not over-cloyed with good cheere, because (as I have said) they that came to fetch us, presuming we were dead, did cramme themselves with our refreshing commodities. Our Workemen dranke no more Wine, after we had left Port Royall: And we had but small portion thereof, because that which did over abound with us was drunke merrily in the company of them that brought us newes from France. The sixe and twentieth of September, wee had sight of the islands of Sorlingues,¹ which bee at the Lands end of Cornewall in England; and, the eight

¹ The Scilly Isles.

and twentieth, thinking to come to Saint Maloes, [we were constrained to stop at Roscoff in lower Brittany where we refreshed ourselves during two and a half days. We had with us a savage whose astonishment was great upon seeing the buildings, steeples, and windmills of France, and the women too, whom he had never seen dressed in our modes.

From Roscoff a good wind carried us to Saint Malo, where we rendered thanks to God. I cannot sufficiently praise our ship's master, Nicolas Martin, who steered us so dexterously and with such watchful prudence among the hidden treacherous rocks that lie between Cape Onessant and Saint Malo. No less praise is due to Captain Foulques, who guided us against adverse winds to an unknown land where we have attempted to lay the foundations of a New France.

We remained at Saint Malo three or four days and then Monsieur de Poutrincourt, his son and myself went on to Mont Saint Michel where we saw the sacred relics, including Saint Michel's shield. We were told that the Lord-Bishop of Avranches had for four years forbidden its exhibition.

As to the great structure, it merits to be called the eighth wonder of the world, so grand and magnificent it is, there on that rocky point in the midst of the waves, the sea being at high tide. Some say that the sea did not come to this point when the stately pile was built; be that as it may, I maintain that the whole structure is most wonderful. The only plaint I will admit is that it is now unused, as indeed are so many superb buildings, even the abbeys of France. I would that by some Archimedian engine they could be transported into New France to be there better employed in the service of God and our King.

Upon our return from Mont Saint Michel we went to see the oyster fisheries at Cancale; from there to Saint Malo where we remained eight days and then shipped in a boat for Honfleur. During this part of the voyage Monsieur de Poutrin-

court's experience stood us in good stead. Seeing our steersmen at the end of their knowledge¹ when they were between the islands of Jersey and Sark (not being accustomed to this route into which we were blown by east and southeast winds in dense fogs and rain) he took the chart and the helm of the boat in his own hands and steered us safely past the Cape Raz-Blanchart, a dangerous point for small boats. From there we easily followed the coast of Normandy to Honfleur. For which eternal praise be to God. Amen.]

Being at Paris, the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt presented to the King the fruits of the Land from whence he came, and especially the Corne, Wheate, Rie, Barley and Oates, as being the most precious thing that may be brought from what Countrey soever. [It would have been seemly to consecrate these first fruits to God, and to place them among the emblems of victory in some church. Better reason had we for doing so than had the early Romans to present the first fruits of their agriculture to their rural deities, Terminus, Seia and Segesta, by the hands of their sacrificial priests of the fields, a priestly guild, instituted by Romulus, which was the first Order of New Rome and which had for insignia a wreath of wheat-ears.]

The said Monsieur de Poutrincourt had bred tenne Outards,² taken from the shell, which hee thought to bring all into France, but five of them were lost, and the other five he gave to the King, who delighted much in them; and they are at Fontaine-bleau.

[And inasmuch as his first purpose is to establish the Christian religion in the land which has been granted to him by His Majesty and to convert to it the poor savage people, who desire nothing else than to imitate us in every good work, he has determined to ask for the blessing of the Roman Pope, the first Bishop of the church, in a letter prepared by my own

¹ *Au bout de leur Latin.*

² Wild Geese.

hand at the time when I began this history. This letter was sent to His Holiness together with His Majesty's letters in October, 1608. As it relates to our subject it seems to me wise to insert it here.]

BEATISSIMO DOMINO.

Nostro Papæ Pavlo V, Pontifici Maximo.

BEATISSIME Pater, divinæ Veritatis, et veræ Divinitatis oraculo scimus "Evangelium regni cœlorum prædicandum fore in universo orbe in testimonium omnibus gentibus, antequam veniat consummatio." Unde (quoniam in suum occasum ruit mundus) Deus his postremis temporibus recordatus misericordiæ suæ suscitavit homines fidei Christianæ athletas fortissimos utriusque militiæ duces, qui zelo propagandæ Religionis inflammati per multa pericula Christiani nominis gloriam non solùm in ultimas terras, sed in mundos novos (ut ita loquar) deportaverunt. Res ardua quidem: Sed

Invia virtuti nulla est via

inquit Poëta quidam vetus. Ego Joannes De Biencour, vulgò De Poutrincour, a vitæ religionis amator & assertor perpetuus, vestræ Beatitudinis servus minimus, pari (ni fallor) animo ductus, unus ex multis devovi me pro Christo & salute populorum ac silvestrium (ut vocant) hominum qui Novæ Franciæ novas terras incolunt: eoque nomine jam relinquo populum meum, & domum patris mei, uxoremque & liberos periculorum meorum consortes facio, memor scilicet quod Abrahamus pater credentium idem fecerit, ignotamque sibi regionem Deo duce peragravit, quam possessurus esset populus de femore eius veri Dei, veræque religionis cultor. Non equidem peto terram auro argentoque beatam, non exteras spoliare gentes mihi est in animo: Sat mihi gratiæ Dei (si hanc aliquo modo consequi possim) terræque mihi Regio dono concessæ, & maris annuus proventus, dummodo populos lucrifaciam Christo. "Messis

quidem multa, operarii pauci.” Qui enim splendide vivunt aurumque sibi congerere curant hoc opus negligunt, scilicet hoc sæculum plus æquo diligentes. Quibus verò res est angusta domi tantæ rei molem suscipere nequeunt et huic oneri ferendo certe sunt impares. Quid igitur? An deferendum negotium vere Christianum & plane divinum. Ergo frustra sex jam ab annis tot sustinuimus labores, tot evasimus pericula, tot vicimus (dum ista meditamur) animi perturbationes? Minime verò. Cum enim “timentibus Deum omnia coöperentur in bonum,” non est dubium quin Deus, pro cuius gloria Herculeum istud opus aggredimur, adspiret votis nostris, qui quondam populum suum Israelem “portavit super alas aquilarum” & perduxit in terram melle & lacte fluentem. Hac spe fretus, quicquid est mihi seu facultatum, seu corporis vel animi virium in re tam nobili libenter & alacri animo expendere non vereor, hoc præsertim tempore quo silent arma, nec datur virtuti suo fungi munere, nisi si in Turcas mucrones nostros converterimus. Sed est quod utilius pro re Christiana faciamus, si populos istos latissime patentes in Occidentali plaga ad Dei cognitionem adducere conemur. Non enim armorum vi sunt ad religionem cogendi. Verbo tantum & doctrina est opus, iuncta bonorum morum disciplina; quibus artibus olim Apostoli, sequentibus signis, maximam hominum partem sibi Deoque, & Christo eius conciliaverunt: itaque verum exitit illud quod scriptum est: “Populus quem non cognovi servivit mihi, in auditu auris obedivit mihi, &c. Filii alieni mentiti sunt mihi,” &c. Filii quidem alieni sunt populi Orientales jam a fide Christiana alieni, in quos propterea torqueri potest illud Evangelii quod jam adimpletum videmus: “Auferetur a vobis regnum Dei & dabitur genti facienti fructus eius.” Nunc autem ecce tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies salutis, qua Deus visitabit & faciet redemptionem plebis suæ, & populus qui eum non cognovit serviet ipsi, sed etiam in auditu auris obediet, si me indignum servum tanti muneris ducem

esse patiat. Quia in re Beatitudinis vestræ charitatem per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri deprecor, auctoritatem imploro, adiuro sanctitatem, ut mihi ad illud opus jam — jam properanti, uxori charissimæ, ac liberis, necnon domesticis, sociisque meis vestram benedictionem impertiri dignemini, quam certa fide credo nobis plurimum ad salutem non solùm corporis, sed etiam animæ, addo et ad terræ nostræ ubertatem et propositi nostri felicitatem, profuturum. Faxit Deus Optimus Maximus, Faxit Dominus noster & Salvator Jesus Christus, Faxit unà et Spiritus Sanctus, ut in altissima Principii Apostolorum puppi sedentes per multa sæcula Ecclesiæ sanctæ clavum tenere possitis, & in diebus vestris (quæ vestra sane maxima gloria est) illud adimpletum videre quod de Christo a sancto Propheta vaticinatum est. “Adorabunt eum omnes Reges terræ: omnes gentes servient ei.”

Vestræ Beatitudinis filius humillimus ac
devotissimus Joannes De Biencour.

NOTE.—Purchas omits all of the paragraph beginning “And inasmuch as his first purpose is,” and all that follows. The purpose of the letter to the Pope is plain. Lescarbot wrote it for his friend Poutrincourt, vainly hoping to avert from the latter the religious enmities which finally wrecked his enterprise.

In place of these passages, Purchas continued his version of Lescarbot’s fourth book with the following paragraphs.

Upon the faire shew of the fruites of the said Countrey, the King did confirme to Monsieur de Monts the priviledge for the Trade of Bevers with the Savages, to the end to give him meanes to establish his Colonies in New France. And by this occasion he sent thither in March last Families there to beginne

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Christian and French Commonwealths, which God vouchsafe to blesse and increase.

The said ships being returned, we have had report by Monsieur de Champdoré and others, of the state of the COUNTRY which we had left, and of the wonderfull beautie of the Corne that the said Monsieur de Poutrincourt had sowed before his departure, together of the graines that bee fallen in the Gardens, which have so increased that it is an incredible thing. Membertou did gather six or seven barrells of the Corne that we had sowed: and had yet one left, which he reserved for the Frenchmen, whom he looked for and whom, arriving, hee saluted with three Musket shots and Bonfires. When it was laid to his charge that he had eaten our Pidgeons, which wee left there, he fell a weeping, and embracing him that told it him, said, that it was the Macharoa, that is to say, the great Birds which are Eagles, which did eate many of them, while wee were there. Moreover, all great and small did inquire how we did, naming every one by his owne name, which is a witness of great love.

From Port Royall the said Champdoré went as farre as Chouakouet, the beginning of the Armouchiquois Land, where hee pacified that Nation with the Etechemins, which was not done without solemnitie. For as hee had begun to speake of it, the Captaine, who is now instead of Olmechin named Astikou, a grave man and of a goodly presence, how savage soever hee be, demanded that some one of the said Etechemins should be sent to him, and that he would treat with him. Oagimont, Sagamos of the River Saint Croix, was appointed for that purpose, and he would not trust them, but under the assurance of the Frenchmen, he went thither. Some Presents were made to Astikou, who, upon the speech of peace, began to exhort his people and to shew them the causes that ought to induce them to hearken unto it. Whereunto they condescended, making an exclamation at every Article that he propounded to them.

FRENCH EXPLORERS: L'ESCARBOT

Some five yeares agoe Monsieur de Monts had likewise pacified those Nations and had declared unto them, that he would beeemie to the first of them that should begin the Warre, and would pursue him. But after his returne into France, they could not containe themselves in peace. And the Armouchiquois did kill a Souriquois Savage called Panoniac, who went to them for to trucke Merchandize, which he tooke at the Store-house of the said Monsieur de Monts. The Warre above mentioned happened by reason of this said murder, under the conduct of Sagamos Membertou: the said Warre was made in the very same place, where I now make mention that Monsieur de Champdoré did treat the peace this yeere. Monsieur Champlain is in another place, to wit, in the great River of Canada, neere the place where Captaine James Quartier did winter, where hee hath fortified himselfe, having brought thither households, with Cattle and divers sorts of fruit-trees. There is store of Vines, and excellent Hempe, in the same place where he is, which the earth bringeth forth of itselfe. He is not a man to be idle, and we expect shortly newes of the whole Discoverie of this great and uncomparable River, and of the Countries which it washeth on both sides, by the diligence of the said Champlain.

As for Monsieur de Poutrincourt, his desire is immutable, in this resolution to inhabit and adorne his Province, to bring thither his family, and all sorts of Trades necessary for the life of man. Which, with Gods helpe hee will continue to effect, all this present yeere, 1609. And as long as hee hath vigour and strength will prosecute the same, to live there under the Kings obeysance.

V.

THE VOYAGE OF GEORGE WAYMOUTH, 1605. NARRATIVE BY JAMES ROSIER. CHARTERS OF THE PLYMOUTH AND LONDON COMPANIES, 1606.



GEORGE WAYMOUTH, a native of Cockington in Devonshire, was an educated man, an engineer, and also an experienced mariner.

In 1602 he commanded an expedition sent in search of the Northwest passage. Thirty-five men in two ships with provisions for eighteen months sailed in May, and in July a mutiny caused the expedition to return. The voyage was ostensibly authorized by the Muscovy and Turkey Companies, but was really under the auspices of the East India Company.

This voyage to New England in 1605 in a ship called the *Archangel*, was sent out by the Earl of Southampton and Thomas Arundell, the first Lord Arundell of Wardour. It is certain that Waymouth was expected to select a place for settlement, and the facts that Arundell was a prominent adherent of the Catholic faith and that a Catholic priest was one of Waymouth's fellow voyagers, have suggested the possibility that this expedition was the first English Catholic attempt at colonization in America.

WAYMOUTH'S VOYAGE: ROSIER

Of James Rosier nothing is certainly known. In Baxter's life of Sir Ferdinando Gorges it is suggested that Rosier may have been the Catholic priest alluded to above. In Brown's *Genesis of the United States* (I, 26) it is shown that a James Rosier was in Gosnold's expedition in 1602. Rosier's "True Relation," the second book about New England, was published at London in 1605 by George Bishop,¹ and was reprinted by Purchas with many changes and some additions apparently made by the author. The text here used is from the copy of the original in the New York Public Library.

Waymouth's voyage and Rosier's account of it are of prime importance in the history of English colonization in America. The voyage and the publication both attracted the eager attention of Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Sir John Popham, chief-justice of England. Of the Kennebec Indians whom Waymouth had kidnapped three were given to Gorges and the other two to Popham. These gentlemen, one of whom at any rate had been disgracefully prominent among Raleigh's enemies, now aspired to assume his leadership in commercial and colonial ventures. Gorges and Popham believed that their Indian captives could be made friendly guides to settlement among their kinsmen.

The Spanish ambassador at the court of King James, Don Pedro de Zuñiga, kept his master well informed

¹ It was reprinted in Vol. VIII of the third series of *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, and Dr. Henry S. Burrage edited it for the Gorges Society in 1887 from an original copy in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence. It was also reprinted in the "Early English Narratives," and by Mr. George Parker Winship.

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about English plans for exploration and colonization in America. In a letter dated March 16, 1606, he wrote an account of Waymouth's voyage and announced that plans were being formed to send five hundred or six hundred men "to people Virginia in the Indies close to Florida." To the Indian captives he refers as follows: "They brought about ten (*really five*) natives that they might learn English and they have kept some of them here (*in London*), and others in the country, teaching and training them to say how good that country is for people to go there and inhabit it. The chief leader in this business is the Justiciario (*Sir John Popham*), who is a very great Puritan."¹

There is some evidence of a struggle between two contending parties to reap the fruits of Waymouth's voyage. The line of cleavage seems to have followed differences in religious belief. If this supposition is correct, Gorges and Popham represented the Protestant interest, and stole a march upon their rivals by securing possession of the Indian captives. Brown has printed (Vol. I, pp. 32-35) an agreement made in 1605 after Waymouth's return between the latter captain and Sir John Zouche of Codnor to the effect that Captain George Waymouth should lead a colony to America for Sir John. The witnesses to the agreement are W. Riggs, James Rosier, Timothy Sanger, and Robert Has——.

Sir John Zouche was a member of a Catholic family inimical to Sir John Popham. It is likely that the

¹ Brown, "Genesis of the United States," I, 46.

controversies between them were aggravated by the fact that the charter of the Plymouth Company, which Gorges and Popham and others obtained in 1606, prevented the private enterprise upon which Zouche intended to embark with Waymouth.¹ There is some evidence that Captain Waymouth shared in Zouche's feeling. There is a letter from Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain under date of August 18, 1607, which contains this paragraph:

"One Capt. Waiman (*Waymouth*), a special favorite of Sir Walter Copes was taken the last weeke in a port in Kent shipping himself for Spain with intent as is thought to have betrayed his friends, and shewed the Spaniards a meanes how to defeat this Virginian attempt."²

Waymouth had powerful friends, or else it was thought wise to purchase his silence, for there is a record that the English government granted to him, October 27, 1607, a pension of 3s. 4d. a day, "until such time as he shall receive from His Majesty some other advancement." With that pension Captain George Waymouth disappears from history.³

In pursuance of their plans, Gorges and Popham, with Richard Hakluyt and others, obtained from King James two charters, which were both dated April 10,

¹ For the quarrel between Edward, Lord Zouche, Lord President of Wales, and Sir John Popham in 1604-1605, concerning questions of precedence, see Brown, "Genesis of the U. S.," II, 969.

² Brown, "Genesis of the U. S.," I, 113.

³ Cf. references in Dict. Nat'l Biog., vol. 60, under "Weymouth or Waymouth." It appears that no payment of the pension was recorded after 1612. See Dr. Jameson's introductory note in "Early English and French Voyages," p. 335.

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1606. Gorges and Popham and other West Country men¹ were chartered as the Plymouth Company and authorized to settle in America between 38° and 45° north latitude. The other charter created the London Company to settle between 34° north and 41° north. The patentees named in the charter included, besides Hakluyt, Edward Maria Wingfield, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers.

Sir Thomas Smith, a London merchant, who had been the chief of the assignees of Raleigh, was named as treasurer of the London Company. To the patentees was granted the right to coin money, impose taxes, and maintain a general government for twenty-one years. Under the charter of 1606 the ventures of 1607 were made.

Waymouth's voyage was therefore the seed plot of the colony at Jamestown and of the long series of attempts at colonization under the name of Gorges.

¹ Those named in the charter were Thomas Hanham, Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, and George Popham. See Poor's Charters II, 1888, and Brown, "Genesis of the U. S.," I, 52-63.

WAYMOUTH'S VOYAGE: ROSIER

A TRUE RELATION OF THE MOST PROSPEROUS VOYAGE MADE THIS PRESENT YEERE 1605, BY CAPTAINE GEORGE WAYMOUTH, IN THE DISCOVERY OF THE LAND OF VIRGINIA: WHERE HE DISCOVERED 60 MILES UP A MOST EXCELLENT RIVER; TOGETHER WITH A MOST FERTILE LAND.

WRITTEN BY JAMES ROSIER, A GENTLEMAN EMPLOYED IN THE VOYAGE. Londini, Impensis GEOR. BISHOP, 1605.

To the Reader

BEING employed in this Voyage by the right honourable Thomas Arundell Baron of Warder,¹ to take due notice, and make true report of the discovery therein performed: I became very diligent to observe (as much as I could) whatsoever was materiall or of consequence in the businesse which I collected into this briefe summe, intending upon our returne to publish the same. But he soone changed the course of his intendments; and long before our arrivall in England had so farre engaged himselfe with the Archduke,² that he was constrained to relinquish this action. But the commodities and profits of the countrey, together with the fitnessse of plantation, being by some honourable Gentlemen of good woorth and qualitie, and Merchants of good sufficiency and judgment duly considered, they have at their owne charge (intending both their

¹ Wardour.

² Archduke Albert, who with the Infanta Isabella his wife was governing the Spanish Netherlands.

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private and the common benefit of their own countrey) undertaken the transporting of a Colony for the plantation thereof; being much encouraged thereunto by the gracious favour of the *KINGS MAJESTY* himselfe, and divers Lords of his Highnesse most Honourable Privie Councill. After these purposed designes were concluded, I was animated to publish this briefe Relation, and not before: because some forrein Nation (being fully assured of the fruitfulnessse of the countrie) have hoped hereby to gaine some knowledge of the place, seeing they could not allure our Captaine or any speciall man of our Company to combine with them for their direction, nor obtaine their purpose, in conveying away our Salvages, which was busily in practise. And this is the cause that I have neither written of the latitude or variation most exactly observed by our Captaine with sundrie instruments, which together with his perfect Geographicall Map of the countrey, he entendeth hereafter to set forth. I have likewise purposedly omitted here to adde a collection of many words in their language to the number of foure or five hundred, as also the names of divers of their governours, as well their friends as their enemies: being reserved to be made knowen for the benefit of those that shal goe in the next Voyage. But our particular proceedings in the whole Discoverie, the commodious situation of the River, the fertilitie of the land, with the profits there to be had, and here reported, I refer to be verified by the whole Company, as being eye-witnesses of my words, and most of them neere inhabitants upon the Thames. So with my prayers to God for the conversion of so ingenious and well-disposed people, and for the prosperous successive events of the noble intenders the prosecution thereof, I rest

Your friend

J. R.

WAYMOUTH'S VOYAGE: ROSIER

*A True Relation of Captaine George Waymouth his Voyage,¹
made this present yeere 1605; in the Discoverie
of the North part of Virginia.*

Upon Tuesday the 5 day of March, about ten a clocke afore noone, we set saile from Ratcliffe,² and came to an anker that tide about two a clocke before Gravesend.

From thence the 10 of March being Sunday at night we ankered in the Downes: and there rode till the next day about three a clocke after noone, when with a scant winde we set saile; and by reason the winde continued Southwardly, we were beaten up and downe: but on Saturday the 16 day about foure a clocke after noon we put into Dartmouth Haven, where the continuance of the winde at South and Southwest constrained us to ride till the last of this moneth. There we shipped some of our men and supplied necessaries for our Ship and Voyage.

Upon Easter day, being the last of March, the winde coming at North-North-East, about five a clocke after noone we wayed anker, and put to sea, In the name of God, being well victualled and furnished with munition and all necessaries: Our whole Company being but 29 persons; of whom I may boldly say, few voyages have beene manned forth with better Sea-men generally in respect of our small number.

Munday the next day, being the first of Aprill, by sixe a clocke in the morning we were sixe leagues South-South-East from the Lizarde.

At two a clocke in the afternoone this day, the weather being very faire, our Captaine for his owne experience and others with him sounded, and had sixe and fiftie fathoms and a halfe.

¹ Purchas says that the name of Waymouth's ship was the *Archangel*.

² A hamlet on the Thames below London.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

The sounding was some small blacke perrie sand,¹ some reddish sand, a match or two, with small shels called Saint James his Shels.²

The foureteenth of Aprill being Sunday, betweene nine and ten of the clocke in the morning our Captaine descried the Iland Cuervo: which bare South-west and by West, about seven leagues from us: by eleven of the clocke we descried Flores to the Southward of Cuervo, as it lieth: by foure a clocke in the afternoone we brought Cuervo due South from us within two leagues of the shore, but we touched not, because the winde was faire, and we thought our selves sufficiently watered and wooded.

Heere our Captaine observed the Sunne, and found himselfe in the latitude of 40 degrees and 7 minutes: so he judged the North part of Cuervo to be in 40 degrees. After we had kept our course about a hundred leagues from the Ilands, by continuall Southerly windes we were forced and driven from the Southward, whither we first intended. And when our Captaine by long beating saw it was but in vaine to strive with windes, not knowing Gods purposes heerein to our further blessing, (which after by his especiall direction wee found) he thought best to stand as nigh as he could by the winde to recover what land we might first discover.

Munday, the 6 of May, being in the latitude of 39 and a halfe about ten a clocke afore noone, we came to a riplin,³ which we discerned a head our ship, which is a breach of water caused either by a fall, or by some meeting of currents, which we judged this to be; for the weather being very faire, and a small gale of winde, we sounded and found no ground in a hundred fathoms.

¹ Sand mingled with grains of magnetic iron ore.

² St. James's shells are scallop-shells, which every pilgrim, who had visited the shrine of St. James of Compostella in Spain, wore in his hat. The word "match" seems meaningless. It may mean pieces of tow-rope used for fuse.

³ Ripples, tide-rips.

WAYMOUTH'S VOYAGE: ROSIER

Munday, the 13 of May, about eleven a clocke afore noone, our Captaine, judging we were not farre from land, sounded, and had a soft oaze in a hundred and sixty fathomes. At fowre a clocke after noone we sounded againe, and had the same oaze in a hundred fathoms.

From ten a clocke that night till three a clocke in the morning, our Captaine tooke in all sailes and lay at hull,¹ being desirous to fall with the land in the day time, because it was an unknowen coast, which it pleased God in his mercy to grant us, otherwise we had run our ship upon the hidden rockes and perished all. For when we set saile we sounded in 100 fathoms: and by eight a clock, having not made above five or six leagues, our Captaine upon a sudden change of water (supposing verily he saw the sand) presently sounded, and had but five fathoms. Much marvelling because we saw no land, he sent one to the top, who thence descried a whitish sandy cliffe,² which bare West-North-West about six leagues off from us: but comming neerer within three or fowre leagues, we saw many breaches still neerer the land: at last we espied a great breach a head us al along the shore, into which before we should enter, our Captaine thought best to hoist out his ship boate and sound it. Which if he had not done, we had beene in great danger: for he bare up the ship, as neere as he durst after the boate: untill Thomas Cam, his mate, being in the boat, called to him to tacke about and stand off, for in this breach he had very showld water, two fathoms and lesse upon rockes, and sometime they supposed they saw the rocke within three or fowre foote, whereon the sea made a very strong breach: which we might discerne (from the top) to run along as we sailed by it 6 or 7 leagues to the Southward. This was in the latitude of 41 degrees, 20 minutes: wherefore we were constrained to put backe againe from the land: and sounding,

¹ To lay at hull = to drift to the wind with sails furled.

² Sankaty Head, the eastern extremity of Nantucket.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

(the weather being very faire and a small winde) we found our selves embaied with continuall showldes and rockes in a most uncertaine ground, from five or sixe fathoms, at the next cast of the lead we should have 15 and 18 fathoms. Over many which we passed, and God so blessed us, that we had wind and weather as faire as poore men in this distresse could wish: whereby we both perfectly discerned every breach, and with the winde were able to turne, where we saw most hope of safest passage. Thus we parted from the land, which we had not so much before desired, and at the first sight rejoiced, as now we all joifully praised God, that it had pleased him to deliver us from so imminent danger.

Heere we found great store of excellent Cod fish, and saw many Whales, as we had done two or three daies before.

We stood off all that night, and the next day being Wednesday; but the wind still continuing between the points of South-South-West, and West-South-West: so as we could not make any way to the Southward, in regard of our great want of water and wood (which was now spent) we much desired land, and therefore sought for it, where the wind would best suffer us to refresh our selves.

Thursday, the 16 of May, we stood in directly with the land, and much marvelled we descried it not, wherein we found our sea charts very false, putting land where none is.

Friday the 17 of May, about sixe a clocke at night we descried the land, which bare from us North-North-East; but because it blew a great gale of winde, the sea very high and neere night, not fit to come upon an unknowen coast, we stood off till two a clocke in the morning, being Saturday: then standing in with it againe, we descried it by eight a clocke in the morning, bearing North-East from us. It appeared a meane high land, as we after found it, being but an Iland^r of

^r Monhegan, southeast of the mouth of the Kennebec. Close in with the western shore is an island called Manana, forming a small harbor. In Purchas this note is added, "Our Captain named this S. Georges Iland."

WYOMOUTH'S VOYAGE: ROSIER

some six miles in compasse, but I hope the most fortunate ever yet discovered. About twelve a clocke that day, we came to an anker on the North side of this Iland, about a league from the shore. About two a clocke our Captaine with twelve men rowed in his ship boat to the shore, where we made no long stay, but laded our boat with dry wood of olde trees upon the shore side, and returned to our ship, where we rode that night.

This Iland is woody, grouen with Firre, Birch, Oke and Beech, as farre as we saw along the shore; and so likely to be within. On the verge grow Gooseberries, Strawberries, Wild pease, and Wild rose bushes. The water issued fourth downe the Rocky cliffes in many places: and much fowle of divers kinds breed upon the shore and rocks.

While we were at shore, our men aboard with a few hooks got above thirty great Cods and Hadocks, which gave us a taste of the great plenty of fish which we found afterward wheresoever we went upon the coast.

From hence we might discern the maine land from the West-South-West to the East-North-East, and a great way (as it then seemed, and as we after found it) up into the maine we might discern very high mountaines,¹ though the maine seemed but low land; which gave us a hope it would please God to direct us to the discoverie of some good; although wee were driven by winds farre from that place, whither (both by our direction and desire) we ever intended to shape the course of our voyage.

The next day being Whit-Sunday; because we rode too much open to the sea and windes, we weyed anker about twelve a clocke, and came along to the other Ilands more adjoining to the maine,² and in the rode directly with the mountaines, about three leagues from the first Iland where we had ankered.

When we came neere unto them (sounding all along in a

¹ Union and Camden mountains.

² The St. George's Islands.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

good depth) our Captaine manned his ship-boat and sent her before with Thomas Cam one of his Mates, whom he knew to be of good experience, to sound and search betweene the Ilands for a place safe for our shippe to ride in; in the meane while we kept aloofe at sea, having given them in the boat a token to weffe¹ in the ship, if he found a convenient Harbour; which it pleased God to send us, farre beyond our expectation, in a most safe birth defended from all windes, in an excellent depth of water for ships of any burthen, in six, seven, eight, nine and ten fathoms upon a clay oaze very tough.

We all with great joy praised God for his unspeakable goodnesse, who had from so apparent danger delivered us, & directed us upon this day into so secure an Harbour: in remembrance whereof we named it Pentecost harbor,² we arriving there that day out of our last Harbour in England, from whence we set saile upon Easterday.

About foure a clocke, after we were ankered and well mored, our Captaine with halfe a dozen of our Company went on shore to seeke fresh watering, and a convenient place to set together a pinnesse, which we brought in pieces out of England; both which we found very fitting.

Upon this Iland, as also upon the former, we found (at our first comming to shore) where fire had beene made: and about the place were very great egge shelles bigger than goose egges, fish bones, and as we judged, the bones of some beast.

Here we espied Cranes stalking on the shore of a little Iland adjoyning; where we after saw they used to breed.

Whitsun-munday, the 20 day of May, very early in the morning, our Captaine caused the pieces of the pinnesse to be carried a shore, where while some were busied about her, others digged welles to receive the fresh water, which we found issuing downe out of the land in many places. Heere I cannot

¹ Weffe — wave.

² St. George's Harbor, according to some; Booth's Bay according to others.

WAYMOUTH'S VOYAGE: ROSIER

omit (for foolish feare of imputation of flattery) the painfull industry of our Captaine, who as at sea he is alwayes most carefull and vigilant, so at land he refuseth no paines ; but his labour was ever as much or rather more than any mans : which not only encourageth others with better content, but also effecteth much with great expedition.

In digging we found excellent clay for bricke or tile.

The next day we finished a well of good and wholesome cleere water in a great empty caske, which we left there. We cut yards, waste trees, and many necessaries for our ship, while our Carpenter and Cooper laboured to fit and furnish forth the shallop.

This day our boat went out about a mile from our ship, and in small time with two or three hooks was fished sufficiently for our whole Company three dayes, with great Cod, Haddocke, and Thornebacke.

And towards night we drew with a small net of twenty fathoms very nigh the shore : we got about thirty very good and great Lobsters, many Rockfish, some Plaise, and other small fishes, and fishes called Lumpes,¹ verie pleasant to the taste : and we generally observed, that all the fish, of what kinde soever we tooke, were well fed, fat, and sweet in taste.

Wednesday, the 22 of May, we felled and cut wood for our ships use, cleansed and scoured our wels, and digged a plot of ground, wherein, amongst some garden seeds,² we sowed peaze and barley, which in sixteen dayes grew eight inches above ground ; and so continued growing every day halfe an inch, although this was but the crust of the ground, and much inferior to the mould we after found in the maine.³

¹ Usually called Lump-sucker. The fish has on its belly a disk with which it adheres to objects.

² The Purchas version adds, "which most the birds destroyed."

³ The Purchas version adds, "All the next day we labored hard to make up our wood, because our Captaine intended not to spare or spend any more time in that of our Voyage. This day our Boat fished againe as before, because wee still were much refreshed with the fresh fish."

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Friday, the 24 of May, after we had made an end of cutting wood, and carying water aboard our shippe, with fourteene Shot and Pikes we marched about and thorow part of two of the Ilands; the bigger of which we judged to be foure or five miles in compasse, and a mile broad.

The profits and fruits which are naturally on these Ilands are these:

All along the shore and some space within, where the wood hindereth not, grow plentifully

{ Rasberries.
Gooseberries.
Strawberries.
Roses.
Currants.
Wild-Vines.
Angelica.¹

Within the Ilands growe wood of sundry sorts, some very great, and all tall:

{ Birch.
Beech.
Ash.
Maple.
Spruce.
Cherry-tree.
Yew.
Oke very great and good.
Firre-tree, out of which

issueth Turpentine in so marvellous plenty, and so sweet, as our Chirurgeon and others affirmed they never saw so good in England. We pulled off much Gumme congealed on the outside of the barke, which smelled like Frankincense. This would be a great benefit for making Tarre and Pitch.

We stayed the longer in this place, not only because of our good Harbour, (which is an excellent comfort) but because every day we did more and more discover the pleasant fruitfulness; insomuch as many of our Companie wished them-

¹ An aromatic plant, herba angelica, so called because it was regarded as an antidote against poison and pestilence.

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selves settled heere, not expecting any further hopes, or better discovery to be made.

Heere our men found abundance of great muscels among the rocks; and in some of them many small Pearls: and in one muscell (which we drew up in our net) was found foure-teene Pearles, whereof one of prety bignesse and orient;¹ in another above fiftie small Pearles; and if we had had a Drag, no doubt we had found some of great valew, seeing these did certainly shew, that heere they were bred; the shels all glistening with mother of Pearle.

Wednesday, the 29 day, our shallop being now finished, and our Captaine and men furnished to depart with hir from the ship: we set up a crosse² on the shore side upon the rockes.

Thursday, the 30 of May, about ten a clock afore noon, our Captaine with 13 men more, in the name of God, and with all our praiers for their prosperous discoverie, and safe returne, departed in the shallop; leaving the ship in a good harbour, which before I mentioned, well mored, and manned with 14 men.

This day, about five a clocke in the afternoone, we in the shippe espied three Canoas comming towards us, which went to the iland adjoining, where they went a shore, and very quickly had made a fire, about which they stood beholding our ships: to whom we made signes with our hands and hats, weffing unto them to come unto us, because we had not seene any of the people yet. They sent one Canoa with three men, one of which, when they came neere unto us, spake in his language very lowd and very boldly: seeming as though he would know why we were there, and by pointing with his oare towards the sea, we conjectured he ment we should be gone.

¹ Because Oriental or Indian pearls were so highly esteemed the word "orient" was used to signify brilliance or preciousness of pearls.

² The Popham colony two years later found a cross on one of the islands in St. George's Harbor, "which we suppose," writes the annalist of that colony, "was Sett up by George Wayman."

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

But when we shewed them knives and their use, by cutting of stickes and other trifles, as combs and glasses, they came close aboard our ship, as desirous to entertaine our friendship. To these we gave such things as we perceived they liked, when wee shewed them the use: bracelets, rings, peacocke feathers, which they stucke in their haire, and Tabacco pipes. After their departure to their company on the shore, presently came foure other in another Canoa: to whom we gave as to the former, using them with as much kindnes as we could.

The shape of their body is very proportionable, they are wel countenanced, not very tal nor big, but in stature like to us: they paint their bodies with blacke, their faces, some with red, some with blacke, and some with blew.

Their clothing is Beavers skins, or Deares skins, cast over them like a mantle, and hanging downe to their knees, made fast together upon the shoulder with leather; some of them had sleeves, most had none; some had buskins of such leather tewed: they have besides a peece of Beavers skin betweene their legs, made fast about their waste, to cover their privities.

They suffer no haire to grow on their faces, but on their head very long and very blacke, which those that have wives, binde up behinde with a leather string, in a long round knot.

They seemed all very civill and merrie: shewing tokens of much thankfulnessse, for those things we gave them. We found them then (as after) a people of exceeding good invention, quicke understanding and readie capacitie.

Their Canoas are made without any iron, of the bark of a birch tree, strengthened within with ribs and hoops of wood, in so good fashion, with such excellent ingenious art, as they are able to beare seven or eight persons, far exceeding any in the Indies.

One of their Canoas came not to us, wherein we imagined their women were: of whom they are (as all Salvages) very jealous.

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When I signed unto them they should goe sleepe, because it was night, they understood presently, and pointed that at the shore, right against our ship, they would stay all night: as they did.

The next morning very early, came one Canoa aboard us againe with three Salvages, whom we easily then enticed into our ship, and under the decke: where we gave them porke, fish, bread and pease, all which they did eat; and this I noted, they would eat nothing raw, either fish or flesh. They marvelled much and much looked upon the making of our canne and kettle, so they did at a head-peece and at our guns, of which they are most fearefull, and would fall flat downe at the report of them. At their departure I signed unto them, that if they would bring me such skins as they ware I would give them knives, and such things as I saw they most liked, which the chiefe of them promised to do by that time the Sunne should be beyond the middest of the firmament; this I did to bring them to an understanding of exchange, and that they might conceive the intent of our comming to them to be for no other end.

About 10 a clocke this day we descried our Shallop returning toward us, which so soone as we espied, we certainly conjectured our Captaine had found some unexpected harbour, further up towards the maine to bring the ship into, or some river; knowing his determination and resolution, not so suddenly else to make returne: which when they came neerer they expressed by shooting volleies of shot; and when they were come within Musket shot, they gave us a volley and haled us, then we in the shippe gave them a great peece and haled them.

Thus we welcomed them; who gladded us exceedingly with their joifull relation of their happie discoverie, which shall appeare in the sequele. And we likewise gave them cause of muuall joy with us, in discoursing of the kinde civility we found in a people, where we little expected any sparke of humanity.

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Our Captaine had in this small time discovered up a great river, trending alongst into the maine about forty miles.¹ The pleasantnesse whereof, with the safety of harbour for shipping, together with the fertility of ground and other fruits, which were generally by his whole company related, I omit, till I report of the whole discovery therein after performed. For by the breadth, depth and strong flood imagining it to run far up into the land, he with speed returned, intending to flanke his light horsman² for arrowes, least it might happen that the further part of the river should be narrow, and by that meanes subject to the volley of Salvages on either side out of the woods.

Untill his returne, our Captaine left on shore where he landed in a path (which seemed to be frequented) a pipe, a brooch and a knife, thereby to know if the Salvages had recourse that way, because they could at that time see none of them, but they were taken away before our returne thither.

I returne now to our Salvages, who according to their appointment about one a clocke, came with 4 Canoas to the shoare of the iland right over against us, where they had lodged the last night, and sent one Canoa to us with two of those Salvages, who had beene a bord, and another, who then seemed to have command of them; for though we perceived their willingnesse, yet he would not permit them to come aboard; but he having viewed us and our ship, signed that he would go to the rest of the company and returne againe. Pres-

¹ Some have identified this river which Waymouth explored with the Penobscot. Winsor is confident that it was the Kennebec, and regards the question as settled by the testimony of Strackey that Waymouth discovered two rivers, "the little one of Pemaquid" and "the most excellent and beneficiall river of Sachadehoc." Champlain also came along the coast soon after Waymouth and was told by the natives of Kennebec that an English ship had been there and that the captain had killed five of their people. On the other Dr. H. S. Burrage and others who are thoroughly acquainted with this part of the Maine coast regard the identification of St. George's Harbor and St. George's River as complete, relying on the descriptions of the locality contained in this narrative.

² I. e., to make the sides of the boat higher.

ently after their departure it began to raine, and continued all that afternoone, so as they could not come to us with their skins and furs, nor we go to them. But after an houre or there about, the three which had beene with us before came againe, whom we had to our fire and covered them with our gownes. Our Captaine bestowed a shirt upon him, whom we thought to be their chiefe, who seemed never to have seene any before; we gave him a brooch to hang about his necke, a great knife, and lesser knives to the two other, and to every one of them a combe and glasse, the use whereof we shewed them: whereat they laughed and tooke gladly; we victualled them, and gave them aqua vitæ, which they tasted, but would by no meanes drinke; our beveridge they liked well, we gave them Sugar Candy, which after they had tasted they liked and desired more, and raisons which were given them; and some of every thing they would reserve to carry to their company. Wherefore we pittying their being in the raine, and therefore not able to get themselves victuall (as we thought) we gave them bread and fish.

Thus because we found the land a place answerable to the intent of our discovery, viz. fit for any nation to inhabit, we used the people with as great kindnes as we could devise, or found them capable of.

The next day, being Saturday and the first of June, I traded with the Salvages all the fore noone upon the shore, where were eight and twenty of them: and because our ship rode nigh, we were but five or sixe: where for knives, glasses, combes and other trifles to the valew of foure or five shillings, we had 40 good Beavers skins, Otters skins, Sables, and other small skins, which we knewe not how to call. Our trade being ended, many of them came aboard us, and did eat by our fire, and would be verie merrie and bold, in regard of our kinde usage of them. Towards night our Captaine went on shore, to have a draught with the Sein or Net. And we carried two of them with us,

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who marvelled to see us catch fish with a net. Most of that we caught we gave them and their company. Then on the shore I learned the names of divers things of them: and when they perceived me to note them downe, they would of themselves, fetch fishes, and fruit bushes, and stand by me to see me write their names.

Our Captaine shewed them a strange thing which they woondred at. His sword and mine having beene touched with the Loadstone, tooke up a knife and held it fast when they plucked it away, made the knife turne, being laid on a blocke, and touching it with his sword, made that take up a needle, whereat they much marvelled. This we did to cause them to imagine some great power in us: and for that to love and feare us.

When we went on shore to trade with them, in one of their Canoas I saw their bowes and arrowes, which I tooke up and drew an arrow in one of them, which I found to be of strength able to carry an arrow five or sixe score stronglie; and one of them tooke it and drew as we draw our bowes, not like the Indians. Their bow is made of Wich Hazell, and some of Beech in fashion much like our bowes, but they want nocks,¹ onely a string of leather put through a hole at one end, and made fast with a knot at the other. Their arrowes are made of the same wood, some of Ash, big and long, with three feathers tied on, and nocked very artificially: headed with the long shanke bone of a Deere, made very sharpe with two fangs in manner of a harping iron. They have likewise Darts, headed with like bone, one of which I darted among the rockes, and it brake not. These they use very cunningly, to kill fish, fowle and beasts.

Our Captaine had two of them at supper with us in his cabbin to see their demeanure, and had them in presence at

¹ Nocks = notches. Also the horn tips of English bows, which carried notches for the bow-strings, were called nocks.

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service: who behaved themselves very civilly, neither laughing nor talking all the time, and at supper fed not like men of rude education, neither would they eat or drinke more than seemed to content nature; they desired pease to carry a shore to their women, which we gave them, with fish and bread, and lent them pewter dishes, which they carefully brought againe.

In the evening another boat came to them on the shore, and because they had some Tabacco, which they brought for their owne use, the other came for us, making signe what they had, and offered to carry some of us in their boat, but foure or five of us went with them in our owne boat: when we came on shore they gave us the best welcome they could, spreading fallow Deeres skins for us to sit on the ground by their fire, and gave us of their Tabacco in our pipes, which was excellent, and so generally commended of us all to be as good as any we ever tooke, being the simple leafe without any composition, strong, and of sweet taste; they gave us some to carry to our Captaine, whom they called our Bashabes;¹ neither did they require any thing for it, but we would not receive any thing from them without remuneration.

Heere we saw foure of their women, who stood behind them, as desirous to see us, but not willing to be seene; for before, whensoever we came on shore, they retired into the woods, whether it were in regard of their owne naturall modestie, being covered only as the men with the foresaid Beavers skins, or by the commanding jealousy of their husbands, which we rather suspected, because it is an inclination much noted to be in Salvages; wherefore we would by no meanes seeme to take any speciall notice of them. They were very well favoured in proportion of countenance, though coloured blacke, low of stature, and fat, bare headed as the men, wearing their haire long: they had two little male children of a yeere and half old, as we judged, very fat and of good

¹ The name of the chief of the Indians at Penobscot Bay.

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countenances, which they love tenderly, all naked, except their legs, which were covered with thin leather buskins tewed, fastened with strops to a girdle about their waste, which they girde very streight, and is decked round about with little round peeces of red Copper; to these I gave chaines and bracelets, glasses, and other trifles, which the Salvages seemed to accept in great kindnesse.

At our comming away, we would have had those two that supped with us, to go aboard and sleepe, as they had promised; but it appeared their company would not suffer them. Whereat we might easily perceive they were much greeved; but not long after our departure, they came with three more to our ship, signing to us, that if one of our company would go lie on shore with them, they would stay with us. Then Owen Griffin (one of the two we were to leave in the Country,¹ if we had thought it needfull or convenient) went with them in their Canoa, and 3 of them staid aborde us, whom our whole company very kindly used. Our Captaine saw their lodging provided, and them lodged in an old saile upon the Orlop;² and because they much feared our dogs, they were tied up whensoever any of them came aboard us.

Owen Griffin, which lay on the shore, reported unto me their maner, and (as I may terme them) the ceremonies of their idolatry; which they performe thus. One among them (the eldest of the Company, as he judged) riseth right up, the other sitting still, and looking about, suddenly cried with a loud voice, Baugh, Waugh:³ then the women fall downe, and lie upon the ground, and the men all together answering the same, fall a stamping round about the fire with both feet, as hard as they can, making the ground shake, with sundry out-cries, and change of voice and sound. Many take the fire-sticks and

¹ The Purchas version adds: "by their agreement with my Lord the Right Honorable Count Arundell."

² Orlop (overloop), the lowest deck of a ship, or merely the deck.

³ These words look more familiar in the form "Pow-wow."

thrust them into the earth, and then rest awhile: of a sudden beginning as before, they continue so stamping, till the yonger sort fetched from the shore many stones, of which every man tooke one, and first beat upon them with their fire sticks, then with the stones beat the earth with all their strength. And in this maner (as he reported) they continued above two houres.¹

After this ended, they which have wives take them apart, and withdraw themselves severally into the wood all night.

The next morning, assoone as they saw the Sunne rise, they pointed to him to come with them to our shippe: and having received their men from us, they came with five or sixe of their Canoas and Company hovering about our ship; to whom (because it was the Sabbath day) I signed they should depart, and at the next Sun rising we would goe along with them to their houses; which they understood (as we thought) and departed, some of their Canoas coursing about the Iland, and the other directly towards the maine.

This day, about five a clocke after noone, came three other Canoas from the maine, of which some had beene with us before; and they came aboard us, and brought us Tabacco, which we tooke with them in their pipes, which were made of earth, very strong, blacke, and short, containing a great quantity: some Tabacco they gave unto our Captaine, and some to me, in very civill kind maner. We requited them with bread and peaze, which they caried to their Company on shore, seeming very thankfull. After supper they returned with their Canoa to fetch us a shore to take Tabacco with them there: with whom six or seven of us went, and caried some trifles, if peradventure they had any trucke, among which I caried some

¹ The Purchas version adds: "In the time of their Pavose, our watch aboard were singing, and they signed to him (*i.e.*, *Griffin*) to doe so (*i.e.*, *to sing*), which he did, looking and lifting up his hands to Heaven: then they pointed to the Moone, as if they imagined hee worshipped that, which when he with signes denied, they pointed to the Sunne rising, which he likewise disliked, lifting up his hands againe; then they looked about as though they would see what Starre it might be, laughing to one another."

few biskets, to try if they would exchange for them, seeing they so well liked to eat them. When we came at shore, they most kindly entertained us, taking us by the hands, as they had observed we did to them aboard, in token of welcome, and brought us to sit downe by their fire, where sat together thirteene of them. They filled their Tabacco pipe, which was then the short claw of a Lobster, which will hold ten of our pipes full, and we dranke of their excellent Tabacco as much as we would with them; but we saw not any great quantity to trucke for; and it seemed they had not much left of old, for they spend a great quantity yeerely by their continuall drinking: and they would signe unto us that it was growen yet but a foot above ground, and would be above a yard high, with a leafe as broad as both their hands. They often would (by pointing to one part of the maine Eastward) signe unto us, that their Bashabes (that is, their King) had great plenty of Furres, and much Tabacco. When we had sufficiently taken Tabacco with them, I shewed some of our trifles for trade; but they made signe that they had there nothing to exchange; for (as I after conceived) they had beene fishing and fowling, and so came thither to lodge that night by us: for when we were ready to come away, they shewed us great cups made very wittily of barke, in forme almost square, full of a red berry about the bignesse of a bullis,¹ which they did eat, and gave us by handfuls; of which (though I liked not the taste) yet I kept some, because I would by no meanes but accept their kindnesse. They shewed me likewise a great piece of fish, whereof I tasted, and it was fat like Porpoise; and another kinde of great scaly fish, broiled on the coales, much like white Salmon, which the French-men call Aloza,² for these they would have had bread; which I refused, because in maner of exchange, I would alwayes make the greatest esteeme I

¹ Bullis = bullace, the wild plum; the berries were either checkerberries or partridge-berries.

² Alose = the shad.

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could of our commodities whatsoever; although they saw aboard our Captaine was liberall to give them, to the end we might allure them still to frequent us. Then they shewed me foure yoong Goslings, for which they required foure biskets, but I offered them two; which they tooke and were well content.

At our departure they made signe, that if any of us would stay there on shore, some of them would go lie aboard us: at which motion two¹ of our Company stayed with them, and three of the Salvages lodged with us in maner as the night before.

Early the next morning, being Munday the third of June, when they had brought our men aboard, they came about our ship, earnestly by signes desiring that we would go with them along to the maine, for that there they had Furres and Tabacco to traffique with us. Wherefore our Captaine manned the light-horseman with as many men as he could well, which were about fiteene with rowers and all; and we went along with them. Two of their Canoaes they sent away before, and they which lay aboard us all night kept company with us to direct us.

This we noted as we went along, they in their Canoa with three oares, would at their will go ahead of us and about us, when we rowed with eight oares strong; such was their swiftnesse, by reason of the lightnesse and artificiall² composition of their Canoa and oares.

When we came neere the point where we saw their fires, where they intended to land, and where they imagined some few of us would come on shore with our merchandize, as we had accustomed before; when they had often numbered our men very diligently, they scoured away to their Company, not doubting we would have followed them. But when we perceived this, and knew not either their intents, or number of

¹ The Purchas version gives their names as "Master Booles, servant to the Right Honorable Count Arundell," and Owen Griffin as before.

² Purchas here has the word "exquisite."

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Salvages on the shore, our Captaine, after consultation, stood off, and wefted them to us, determining that I should go on shore first to take a view of them and what they had to trafique: if he, whom at our first sight of them seemed to be of most respect among them, and being then in the Canoa, would stay as a pawne for me. When they came to us (notwithstanding all our former courtesies) he utterly refused; but would leave a yoong Salvage: and for him our Captaine sent Griffin in their Canoa, while we lay hulling a little off. Griffin at his returne reported, thay had there assembled together, as he numbred them, two hundred eighty three Salvages, every one his bowe and arrowes, with their dogges, and wolves which they keepe tame at command, and not anything to exchange at all; but would have drawn us further up into a little narrow nooke of a river, for their Furres, as they pretended.

These things considered, we began to joyne them in the ranke of other Salvages, who have beene by travellers in most discoveries found very trecherous; never attempting mischief, untill by some remisnesse, fit opportunity affoordeth them certaine ability to execute the same. Wherefore after good advice taken, we determined so soone as we could to take some of them, least (being suspitious we had discovered their plots) they should absent themselves from us.

Tuesday, the fourth of June, our men tooke Cod and Hadocke with hooks by our ship side, and Lobsters very great; which before we had not tried.

About eight a clocke this day we went on shore with our boats, to fetch aboard water and wood, our Captaine leaving word with the Gunner in the shippe, by discharging a musket, to give notice if they espied any Canoa comming; which they did about ten a clocke. He therefore being carefull they should be kindly entreated, requested me to go aboard, intending with dispatch to make what haste after he possibly could. When I came to the ship, there were two Canoas, and

in either of them three Salvages; of whom two were below at the fire, the other staid in their Canoas about the ship; and because we could not entice them aboard, we gave them a Canne of pease and bread, which they carried to the shore to eat. But one of them brought backe our Canne presently and staid aboard with the other two; for he being yoong, of a ready capacity, and one we most desired to bring with us into England, had received exceeding kinde usage at our hands, and was therefore much delighted in our company. When our Captaine was come, we consulted how to catch the other three at shore which we performed thus.

We manned the light horseman with 7 or 8 men, one standing before carried our box of Marchandise, as we were woont when I went to traffique with them, and a platter of pease, which meat they loved: but before we were landed, one of them (being too suspitiously feareful of his owne good) withdrew himselfe into the wood. The other two met us on the shore side, to receive the pease, with whom we went up the Cliffe to their fire and sate downe with them, and whiles we were discussing how to catch the third man who was gone, I opened the box, and shewed them trifles to exchange, thinking thereby to have banisht feare from the other, and drawn him to returne: but when we could not, we used little delay, but suddenly laid hands upon them. And it was as much as five or sixe of us could doe to get them into the light horseman. For they were strong and so naked as our best hold was by their long haire on their heads; and we would have beene very loath to have done them any hurt, which of necessity we had beene constrained to have done if we had attempted them in a multitude, which we must and would, rather than have wanted them, being a matter of great importance for the full accomplishment of our voyage.

Thus we shipped five Salvages, two Canoas, with all their bowes and arrowes.

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The next day we made an end of getting our wood aboard, and filled our empty caske with water.

Thursday, the 6 of June, we spent in bestowing the Canoas upon the orlop safe from hurt, because they were subject to breaking, which our Captaine was carefull to prevent.

Saturday the eight of June (our Captaine being desirous to finish all businesse about this harbour) very early in the morning, with the light horseman, coasted five or sixe leagues about the Ilands adjoining, and sounded all along wheresoever we went. He likewise diligently searched the mouth of the Harbour, and about the rocks which shew themselves at all times, and are an excellent breach of the water, so as no Sea can come in to offend the Harbour. This he did to instruct himselfe, and thereby able to direct others that shall happen to come to this place. For every where both neere the rocks, and in all soundings about the Ilands, we never found lesse water than foure and five fathoms, which was seldome; but seven, eight, nine and ten fathoms is the continuall sounding by the shore. In some places much deeper upon clay oaze or soft sand: so that if any bound for this place, should be either driven or scanted¹ with winds, he shall be able (with his directions) to recover safely his harbour most securely in water enough by foure severall passages,² more than which I thinke no man of judgement will desire as necessarie.

Upon one of the Ilands³ (because it had a pleasant sandy Cove for small barks to ride in) we landed, and found hard by the shore a pond of fresh water, which flowed over the banks, somewhat over grown with little shrub trees, and searching up in the Iland, we saw it fed with a strong run, which with small labour, and little time, might be made to drive a mill. In this Iland, as in the other, were spruce trees of excellent timber and height, able to mast ships of great burthen.

¹ Scanted = hindered.

² These four passages exist in St. George's Harbor.

³ Identified by Dr. Burrage as Allen's Island.

While we thus sounded from one place to another in so good deepes, our Captaine to make some triall of the fishing himselfe, caused a hooke or two to be cast out at the mouth of the harbour, not above halfe a league from our ship, where in small time only, with the baits which they cut from the fish and three hooks, we got fish enough for our whole Company (though now augmented) for three daies. Which I omit not to report, because it sheweth how great a profit the fishing would be, they being so plentifull, so great and so good, with such convenient drying as can be wished, neere at hand upon the Rocks.

This day, about one a clocke after noone, came from the Eastward, two Canoas aboard us, wherein was he that refused to stay with us for a pawne, and with him six other Salvages which we had not seene before, who had beautified themselves after their manner very gallantly, though their clothing was not differing from the former, yet they had newly painted their faces very deep, some all blacke, some red, with stripes of excellent blew over their upper lips, nose and chin. One of them ware a kinde of Coronet about his head, made very cunningly, of a substance like stiffe haire coloured red, broad, and more than a handfull in depth, which we imagined to be some ensigne of superioritie; for he so much esteemed it as he would not for anything exchange the same. Other ware the white feathered skins of some fowle, round about their head, jewels in their ears, and bracelets of little white round bone, fastened together upon a leather string. These made not any shew that they had notice of the other before taken, but we understood them by their speech and signes, that they came sent from the Bashabas, and that his desire was that we would bring up our ship (which they call as their owne boats, a *Quiden*¹) to his house, being, as they pointed, upon the main towards the East, from whence they came, and that he would exchange with us

¹ *Aquiden* = canoe.

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for Fures and Tabacco. But because our Company was but small, and now our desire was with speed to discover up the river, we let them understand, that if their Bashabes would come to us, he should be welcome, but we would not remove to him. Which when they understood (receiving of us bread and fish, and every one of them a knife) they departed; for we had then no will to stay them long aboard, least they should discover the other Salvages which we had stowed below.

Tuesday, the 11 of June, we passed up into the river with our ship, about six and twenty miles. Of which I had rather not write, then by my relation to detract from the worthinesse thereof. For the River, besides that it is subject by shipping to bring in all traffiques of Marchandise, a benefit alwaies accounted the richest treasury to any land: for which cause our Thames hath that due denomination, and France by her navigable Rivers receiveth hir greatest wealth; yet this place of itselfe from God and nature affoordeth as much diversitie of good commodities, as any reasonable man can wish, for present habitation and planting.

The first and chieftest thing required, is a bold coast and faire land to fall with; the next, a safe harbour for ships to ride in.

The first is a speciall attribute to this shore, being most free from sands or dangerous rocks in a continuall good depth, with a most excellent land-fall, which is the first Iland we fell with, named by us, Saint Georges Island. For the second, by judgement of our Captaine, who knoweth most of the coast of England, and most of other Countries, (having beene experienced by imployments in discoveries and travels from his childhood) and by opinion of others of good judgement in our shippe, heere are more good harbours for ships of all burthens, than England can afford, and far more secure from all winds and weathers than any in England, Scotland, France or Spaine. For besides without the River in the channell, and sounds

about the ilands adjoining to the mouth thereof, no better riding can be desired for an infinite number of ships. The River it selfe as it runneth up into the main very nigh forty miles toward the great mountaines, beareth in bredth a mile, sometime three quarters, and halfe a mile is the narrowest, where you shall never have under 4 and 5 fathoms water hard by the shore, but 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 fathoms all along, and on both sides every halfe mile very gallant Coves, some able to containe almost a hundred saile, where the ground is excellent soft oaze with a tough clay under for anker hold, and where ships may ly without either Cable or Anker, only mored to the shore with a Hauser.

It floweth by their judgement eighteen or twenty foot at high water.

Heere are made by nature most excellent places, as Docks to grave or Carine¹ ships of all burthens; secured from all windes, which is such a necessary incomparable benefit, that in few places in England, or in any parts of Christendome, art, with great charges, can make the like.²

Besides, the bordering land is a most rich neighbour trending all along on both sides, in an equall plaine, neither mountainous nor rocky, but verged with a greene bordure of grasse, doth make tender unto the beholder of hir pleasant fertility, if by clensing away the woods she were converted into meddow.

The wood she beareth is not shrubbish fit only for fewell, but goodly tall Firre, Spruce, Birch, Beech, Oke, which in many places is not so thicke, but may with small labour be made feeding ground, being plentiful like the outward Ilands with fresh water, which streameth downe in many places.

¹ Grave or careen. "Grave" means to clean the bottom of a ship by burning off accretions, and covering with tar or other substances.

² The Purchas version adds: "It yeeldeth plenty of Salmons, and other fishes of great bignes, and assuredly great probabilitie of better things therein to be found, seeing about the Ilands wee had such certain hope of Pearl and Oare. Besides all these commodities innative to this River," etc.

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As we passed with a gentle winde up with our ship in this River, any man may conceive with what admiration we all consented in joy. Many of our Company who had bene travellers in sundry countries, and in the most famous Rivers, yet affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld. Some that were with Sir Walter Raleigh in his voyage to Guiana, in the discovery of the River Orenoque, which echoed fame to the worlds eares, gave reasons why it was not to be compared with this, which wanteth the dangers of many Shoules, and broken ground, wherewith that was incombred. Others before that notable River in the West Indies called Rio Grande; some before the River of Loyer,¹ the River Seine, and of Burdeaux in France, which, although they be great and goodly Rivers, yet it is no detraction from them to be accounted inferiour to this, which not only yeeldeth all the foresaid pleasant profits, but also appeared infallibly to us free from all inconveniences.

I will not prefer it before our river of Thames, because it is Englands richest treasure; but we all did wish those excellent Harbours, good deeps in a continuall convenient breadth and small tide-gates, to be as well therein for our countries good, as we found them here (beyond our hopes) in certaine, for those to whom it shall please God to grant this land for habitation; which if it had, with the other inseparable adherent commodities here to be found; then I would boldly affirme it to be the most rich, beautifull, large & secure harbouring river that the world affoordeth.²

Wednesday, the twelfth of June, our Captaine manned his light-horseman with 17 men, and ranne up from the ship riding in the river up to the codde³ thereof, where we landed,

¹ Loire.

² The Purchas version adds: "for if man should wish, or Art invent, a River subject to all conveniences, and free from all dangers, here they may take a view in a Plat-forme formed by Nature, who in her perfection farre exceedeth all Arts invention."

³ Codde means the inmost recess, usually of a bay.

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leaving six to keepe the light-horseman till our returne. Ten of us with our shot, and some armed, with a boy to carry powder and match, marched up into the countrey towards the mountaines, which we descried at our first falling with the land. Unto some of them the river brought us so neere, as we judged our selves when we landed to have been within a league of them; but we marched up about foure miles in the maine, and passed over three hilles: and because the weather was parching hot, and our men in their armour not able to travel farre and returne that night to our ship, we resolved not to passe any further, being all very weary of so tedious and laboursom a travell.

In this march we passed over very good ground, pleasant and fertile, fit for pasture, for the space of some three miles, having but little wood, and that Oke like stands left in our pastures in England, good and great, fit timber for any use. Some small Birch, Hazle and Brake, which might in small time with few men be cleansed and made good arable land: but as it now is will feed cattell of all kindes with fodder enough for Summer and Winter. The soile is blacke, bearing sundry hearbs, grasse, and strawberries bigger than ours in England. In many places are lowe Thicks¹ like our Copisses of small yong wood. And surely it did all resemble a stately Parke, wherein appeare some old trees with high withered tops, and other flourishing with living greene boughs. Upon the hilles grow notable high timber trees, masts for ships of 400 tun: and at the bottome of every hill, a little run of fresh water; but the furthest and last we passed ranne with a great streame able to drive a mill.

We might see in some places where fallow Deere and Hares had beene, and by the rooting of ground we supposed wilde Hogs had ranged there, but we could descrie no beast, because our noise still chased them from us.

¹ Thickets.

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We were no sooner come aboard our light-horseman, returning towards our ship, but we espied a Canoa coming from the further part of the Cod of the river Eastward, which hasted to us: wherein, with two others, was he who refused to stay for a pawne: and his coming was very earnestly importing to have one of our men to go lie on shore with their Bashabes (who was there on shore, as they signed) and then the next morning he would come to our ship with many Furses and Tabacco. This we perceived to be only a meere device to get possession of any of our men, to ransome all those which we had taken, which their naturall policy could not so shadow, but we did easily discover and prevent. These meanes were by this Salvage practised, because we had one of his kinsemen prisoner, as we judged by his most kinde usage of him being aboard us together.

Thursday, the 13 of June, by two a clocke in the morning (because our Captaine would take the helpe and advantage of the tide) in the light-horseman with our Company well provided and furnished with armour and shot both to defend and offend; we went from our ship up to that part of the river which trended westward into the maine, to search that: and we carried with us a Crosse, to erect at that point, which (because it was not daylight) we left on the shore untill our returne backe; when we set it up in maner as the former. For this (by the way) we diligently observed, that in no place, either about the Ilands, or up in the maine, or amongst the river, we could discern any token or signe, that ever any Christian had beene before; of which either by cutting wood, digging for water, or setting up Crosses (a thing never omitted by any Christian travellers) we should have perceived some mention left.¹

¹ See Champlain's narrative, Chapter XVI, wherein he says that Poutrincourt and himself found at a harbor in the Basin of Mines "a very old cross all covered with moss and almost rotten, a plain indication that before this there had been Christians there."

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But to returne to our river, further up into which we then rowed by estimation twenty miles, the beauty and goodnesse whereof I can not by relation sufficiently demonstrate. That which I can say in generall is this: What profit or pleasure soever is described and truly verified in the former part of the river, is wholly doubled in this; for the bredth and depth is such, that any ship drawing 17 or 18 foot water, might have passed as farre as we went with our light-horsman, and by all our mens judgement much further, because we left it in so good depth and bredth; which is so much the more to be esteemed of greater woorth, by how much it trendeth further up into the maine: for from the place of our ships riding in the Harbour at the entrance into the Sound, to the furthest part we were in this river, by our estimation was not much lesse than threescore miles.

From ech banke of this river are divers branching streames into the maine, whereby is afforded an unspeakable profit by the conveniency of transportation from place to place, which in some countries is both chargeable, and not so fit, by cariages on waine,¹ or horse backe.

Heere we saw great store of fish, some great, leaping above water, which we judged to be Salmons. All along is an excellent mould of ground. The wood in most places, especially on the East side, very thinne, chiefly oke and some small young birch, bordering low upon the river; all fit for medow and pasture ground: and in that space we went, we had on both sides the river many plaine plots of medow, some of three or foure acres, some of eight or nine: so as we judged in the whole to be betweene thirty and forty acres of good grasse, and where the armes run out into the Maine, there likewise went a space on both sides of cleere grasse, how far we know not, in many places we might see paths² made to come downe to the watering.

¹ Wain = wagon. ² The Purchas version says, "pathes Beasts had made."

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The excellencie of this part of the River, for his good breadth, depth, and fertile bordering ground, did so ravish us all with variety of pleasantnesse, as we could not tell what to commend, but only admired; some compared it to the River Severne, (but in a higher degree) and we all concluded (as I verily thinke we might rightly) that we should never see the like River in every degree equall, untill it pleased God we beheld the same againe. For the farther we went, the more pleasing it was to every man, alluring us still with expectation of better, so as our men, although they had with great labour rowed long and eat nothing (for we carried with us no victuall, but a little cheese and bread) yet they were so refreshed with the pleasant beholding thereof, and so loath to forsake it, as some of them affirmed, they would have continued willingly with that onely fare and labour 2 daies; but the tide not suffering us to make any longer stay (because we were to come backe with the tide) and our Captaine better knowing what was fit then we, and better what they in labour were able to endure, being verie loath to make any desperate hazard, where so little necessitie required, thought it best to make returne, because whither we had discovered was sufficient to conceive that the River ran very far into the land. For we passed six or seven miles, altogether fresh water (whereof we all dranke) forced up by the flowing of the Salt: which after a great while eb, where we left it, by breadth of channell and depth of water was likely to run by estimation of our whole company an unknowen way farther: the search whereof our Captaine hath left till his returne,¹ if it shall so please God to dispose of him and us.

For we having now by the direction of the omnipotent disposer of all good intents (far beyond the period of our hopes) fallen with so bold a coast, found so excellent and

¹ The Purchas version adds: "And as our Captain verily thought (although hee then concealed it) might possibly make a passage into (or very nigh) the South Sea: which hee neither had commission nor time now to search."

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secure harbour for as many ships as any nation professing Christ is able to set forth to Sea, discovered a River, which the All-creating God, with his most liberall hand hath made above report notable with his foresaid blessings, bordered with a land, whose pleasant fertility bewraieith it selfe to be the garden of nature, wherein she only intended to delight hir selfe, having hitherto obscured it to any, except to a purblind generation, whose understanding it hath pleased God so to darken, as they can neither discerne, use, or rightly esteeme the unvaluable riches in middest whereof they live sensually content with the barke and outward rinds, as neither knowing the sweetnes of the inward marrow, nor acknowledging the Deity of the Almighty giver: having I say thus far proceeded, and having some of the inhabitant nation (of best understanding we saw among them) who (learning our language) may be able to give us further instruction, concerning all the premised particulars, as also of their governours, and government, situation of townes, and what else shall be convenient, which by no meanes otherwise we could by any observation of our selves learne in a long time: our Captaine now wholly intended his provision for speedy returne. For although the time of yeere and our victuall were not so spent, but we could have made a longer voyage, in searching farther and trading for very good commodities, yet as they might have beene much profitable, so (our company being small) much more prejudiciall to the whole state of our voyage, which we were most regardfull now not to hazard. For we supposing not a little present private profit, but a publike good, and true zeale of promulgating Gods holy Church by planting Christianity, to be the sole intent of the Honourable setters foorth of this discovery; thought it generally most expedient, by our speedy returne, to give the longer space of time to make provision for so weighty an enterprize.

Friday, the 14 day of June, early by foure a clocke in the

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morning, with the tide, our two boats, and a little helpe of the winde, we rowed downe to the rivers mouth and there came to an anker about eleven a clocke. Afterward our Captaine in the light horseman searched the sounding all about the mouth and coming to the River, for his certaine instruction of a perfect description.

The next day, being Saturday, we wayed anker, and with a briese from the land, we sailed up to our watering place, and there stopped, went on shore and filled all our empty caske with fresh water.¹

Our Captaine upon the Rocke in the midst of the harbour observed the height, latitude, and variation exactly upon his instruments.

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 Astrolabe. | 4 Cross Staffe. |
| 2 Semisphere. | 5 And an excellent compasse |
| 3 Ringe instrument. | made for the variation. |

The certainty whereof, together with the particularities of every depth and sounding, as well at our falling with the land, as in the discovery, and at our departure from the coast; I refer to his owne relation in the Map of his Geographically description, which for the benefit of others he intendeth most exactly to publish.²

The temperature of the Climate (albeit a very important matter) I had almost passed without mentioning, because it afforded to us no great alteration from our disposition in England; somewhat hotter up into the Maine, because it lieth open to the South; the aire so wholesome, as I suppose not any of us found our selves at any time more healthfull,

¹ Purchas contains this note: "The Iland where we watered is named Insula Sanctæ Crucis because there wee set our first Crosse."

² The Purchas version adds: "The latitude he found to be 43 degrees 20 minutes, North. The variation, 11 degrees 15 minutes, viz., one point of the Compas Westward. And it is so much in England at Lime-house by London, Eastward."

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more able to labour, nor with better stomacks to such good fare, as we partly brought, and partly found.

Sunday, the 16 of June, the winde being faire, and because we had set out of England upon a Sunday, made the Ilands upon a Sunday, and as we doubt not (by Gods appointment) happily fell into our harbour upon a Sunday; so now (beseeching him still with like prosperity to blesse our returne into England our country, and from thence with his good will and pleasure to hasten our next arrivall there) we waied Anker and quit the Land upon a Sunday.

Tuesday, the 18 day, being not run above 30 leagues from land, and our Captaine for his certaine knowledge how to fall with the coast, having sounded every watch, and from 40 fathoms had come into good deeping, to 70, and so to an hundred: this day the weather being faire, after the foure a clocke watch, when we supposed not to have found ground so farre from land, and before sounded in about 100 fathoms, we had ground in 24 fathomes. Wherefore our sailes being downe, Thomas King boatswaine presently cast out a hooke, and before he judged it at ground, was fished and haled up an exceeding great and well fed Cod: then there were cast out 3 or 4 more, and the fish was so plentifull and so great, as when our Captaine would have set saile, we all desired him to suffer them to take fish a while, because we were so delighted to see them catch so great fish, so fast as the hooke came down: some with playing with the hooke they tooke by the backe, and one of the Mates with two hooques at a lead at five draughts together haled up tenne fishes; all were generally very great, some they measured to be five foot long, and three foot about.

This caused our Captaine not to marvell at the shoulding for he perceived it was a fish banke, which (for our farewell from the land) it pleased God in continuance of his blessings to give us knowledge of: the abundant profit whereof should

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be alone sufficient cause to draw men againe, if there were no other good both in present certaine, and in hope probable to be discovered. To amplifie this with words, were to adde light to the Sunne: for every one in the shippe could easily account this present commodity; much more those of judgement, which knew what belonged to fishing, would warrant (by the helpe of God) in a short voyage with few good fishers to make a more profitable returne from hence than from Newfoundland: the fish being so much greater, better fed, and abundant with traine;¹ of which some they desired, and did bring into England to bestow among their friends, and to testifie the true report.

After, we kept our course directly for England & with ordinary winds, and sometimes calmes, upon Sunday the 14 of July about sixe a clocke at night, we were come into sounding in our channell, but² with darke weather and contrary winds, we were constrained to beat up and downe till Tuesday the 16 of July, when by five a clocke in the morning we made Syilly;³ from whence, hindered with calmes and small winds, upon Thursday the 18 of July about foure a clocke after noone, we came into Dartmouth: which Haven happily (with Gods gracious assistance) we made our last and first harbour in England.

Further, I have thought fit here to adde some things worthy to be regarded, which we have observed from the Salvages since we tooke them.

First, although at the time when we surprised them, they made their best resistance, not knowing our purpose, nor what we were, nor how we meant to use them; yet after perceiving by their kinde usage we intended them no harme, they have never since seemed discontented with us, but very tractable, loving, & willing by their best meanes to satisfie us in any

¹ Train-oil.

² The Purchas version adds: "But for want of the sight of the Sunne and Starres to make a true observation."

³ The Scilly Islands.

thing we demand of them, by words or signes for their understanding: neither have they at any time beene at the least discord among themselves; insomuch as we have not seene them angry but merry; and so kinde, as if you give any thing to one of them, he will distribute part to every one of the rest.

We have brought them to understand some English, and we understand much of their language; so as we are able to aske them many things. And this we have observed, that if we shew them anything, and aske them if they have it in their countrey, they will tell you if they have it, and the use of it, the difference from ours in bignesse, colour, or forme; but if they have it not, be it a thing never so precious, they wil denie the knowledge of it.

They have names for many starres, which they will shew in the firmament.

They shew great reverence to their King, and are in great subjection to their Governours: and they will shew a great respect to any we tell them are our Commanders.

They shew the maner how they make bread of their Indian wheat, and how they make butter and cheese of the milke they have of the Rain-Deere and Fallo-Deere, which they have tame as we have Cowes.

They have excellent colours. And having seene our Indico, they make shew of it, or of some other like thing which maketh as good a blew.

One especiall thing is their maner of killing the Whale, which they call Powdawe;¹ and will describe his forme; how he bloweth up the water; and that he is 12 fathoms long; and that they go in company of their King with a multitude of their boats, and strike him with a bone made in fashion of a harping iron fastened to a rope, which they make great and strong of the barke of trees, which they veare² out after him;

¹ An Indian word meaning, "He blows."

² Nautical term meaning "to pay out."

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then all their boats come about him, and as he riseth above water, with their arrowes they shoot him to death; when they have killed him and dragged him to shore, they call all their chiefe lords together, & sing a song of joy: and those chiefe lords, whom they call Sagamos, divide the spoile, and give to every man a share, which pieces so distributed they hang up about their houses for provision: and when they boile them, they blow off the fat, and put to their peaze, maiz, and other pulse, which they eat.

*A Briefe Note of what Profits we saw the Country yeeld in the
small time of our stay there.*

Trees.

Oke of an excellent graine, strait, and
great timber.
Elme.
Beech.
Birch, very tall and great; of whose
barke they make their Canoas.
Wich-Hazell.
Hazell.
Alder.
Cherry-tree.
Ash.
Maple.
Yew.
Spruce.
Aspe.
Firre.
Many fruit trees, which we knew not.

Fowles.

Eagles.
Hernshawes.
Cranes.
Ducks great.
Geese.

Swannes.
Penguins.
Crowes.
Sharks.
Ravens.
Mewes.
Turtle-doves.
Many birds of sundrie colours.
Many other fowls in flocks, unknown.

Beasts.

Reine-Deere.
Stagges.
Fallow-Deere.
Bears.
Wolves.
Beaver.
Otter.
Hare.
Cony.
Hedge-Hoggs.
Polcats.
Wilde great Cats.
Dogges; some like Wolves, some like
Spaniels.

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Fishes.

Whales.
Seales.
Cod very great.
Haddocke great.
Herring great.
Plaise.
Thornebacke.
Rockefish.
Lobstar great.
Crabs.
Muscles great, with pearles in them.
Cockles.
Wilks.
Cunner-fish.
Lumps.
Whiting.
Soales.
Tortoises.
Oisters.

Fruits, Plants and Herbs.

Tobacco, excellent sweet and strong.
Wild-Vines.
Strawberries
Raspberries
Gooseberries
Hurtleberries
Currant trees
Rose-bushes.
Peaze.
Ground-nuts.
Angelica, a most soveraigne herbe.
An hearbe that spreadeth the ground
and smelleth like Sweet Marjoram,
great plenty.
Very good Dies, which appeare by
their painting; which they carrie
with them in bladders.

} abundance.

¹The names of the five Salvages which we brought home into England, which are all yet alive, are these.

1. Tahanedo, a Sagamo or Commander.
 2. Amoret
 3. Skicowaros
 4. Maneddo
 5. Saffacomoit, a servant.
- } Gentlemen.

¹ The narrative as given in Purchas inserts here a long list of Indian words with English meanings and the names of twelve Indian sachems.

VI.

VOYAGES UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE PLYMOUTH COMPANY, SIR FERDINANDO GORGES, AND SIR JOHN POPHAM.

*I.—1606. Henry Challons, Thomas Hanham,
and Martin Pring.*



SIR FERDINAND GORGES (1566 [?]-1647) was the son of an old Somersetshire family seated at Wraxall. As a young man he saw some military and naval service and was known as a friend of the Earl of Essex. He turned against Essex in the hour of peril in 1601, and became Governor of Plymouth. From the time of the return of Waymouth's expedition to Dartmouth in 1605, Gorges was devoted to the project of colonization in America, altho his schemes were never successful.

Sir John Popham, who was at the outset Gorges' principal backer, was one of the most prominent men in the kingdom, having served as Lord Chief Justice since 1592. He was about thirty-five years older than Gorges, and in 1606 was probably seventy-five years old. He had been interested with Raleigh and Spenser in the colonization of Ireland in 1584-1586, but his attention to the possibilities of American exploration and settlement seems to have begun when he and

Gorges received the Indians whom Waymouth brought home in 1605. As chief justice he had been instrumental in securing legislation naming "banishment beyond the seas" as a penalty for vagrancy, an act which contributed to the disorderly character of some colonial migrations.

Gorges and the Chief Justice were first in the field after the charters were issued in 1606. Two ships were sent out by them in the ensuing summer, one commanded by Captain Henry Challons (sometimes spelled Challoung), with John Stoneman as pilot; the other commanded by Thomas Hanham (or Hanam), with Martin Pring as navigator. Stoneman had been a member of Waymouth's company in the previous year. Two of the Indians who had been kidnapped by Waymouth, probably those whom Sir John Popham had taken charge of, now sailed for home with Challons. This ship was captured by the Spaniards, and Stoneman wrote an account of the disaster which was published by Purchas in his fourth volume (pp. 1832-1837).¹ One of the Indians was finally brought back to England, and possibly the other one also. Another of the five Indians, Tahenedo by name, was on the ship with Hanham and Pring, and was returned to his home. Of this expedition we now know only that Gorges was much encouraged and elated by the report; that the expeditions of 1607 were promoted by its assurances; and that Purchas inserted this reference to it

¹ Cf. also Brown: "Genesis of the U. S.," I, 127-139. On page 114 is a letter from a Captain Barlee to the Earl of Salisbury about the possibility of securing a release for the two Indians who are prisoners at Seville.

(Vol. IV, p. 1837) between Stoneman's narrative and extracts from John Smith's "New England's Trials":

"Reader, I had by me the Voyage of Captaine Thomas Hanham (written by himselfe) unto Sagadahoc; also the written Journals of Master Raleigh Gilbert which stayed and fortified there in that unseasonable Winter (fit to freeze the heart of a Plantation), of James Davies, John Eliot, etc., but our voluminousnesse makes me afraid of offending nicer and queasier stomaches! for which cause I have omitted them, even after I had with great labour fitted them to the Presse."

But for the misfortune to Challons' vessel his company and Hanham's might have effected a settlement upon the coast in the summer of 1606, and anticipated the Virginian settlement at Jamestown by nearly a year.

At the dissolution of the Plymouth Company in 1619, Sir Ferdinando Gorges secured from King James, with whom he was a favored suitor, a new charter for a Council at Plymouth, called "The Council for New England." This charter, dated November '3, 1620, gave title to the coast between 40° and 48° , and also bestowed upon the company a monopoly of fishing privileges upon the coast of New England. The Virginia Company and the popular party in Parliament attacked the monopoly, and involved Gorges in serious controversies, especially in the House of Commons. After forming several magnificent plans of colonization which were never put to trial, at least under its direction, the Council resigned its charter in 1635.

Four years later Gorges obtained a new charter making him the Lord Proprietor of the province of

Maine. His authority was effectively recognized for a few years. He took part in the Civil War as a cavalier, and died in May, 1647. His papers and his claims fell into the hands of his grandson, bearing the same name, who, in 1678, after a long wrangle with other claimants and with the colony of Massachusetts Bay, sold to the latter his title to Maine for £1250.

The younger Gorges published a compilation of little value, called "America Painted to the Life." A pamphlet in this collection was at least partly written by the elder Gorges. It was first published in 1658, eleven years after the author's death. It is entitled "A Briefe Narration of the Originall Undertakings of the advancement of plantations into the parts of America, especially showing the beginning, progress, and continuance of that of New England." ¹

2.—1607. *The Popham Colony at Sagadahoc, conducted by Raleigh Gilbert and George Popham. Narrative by James Davies.*

The expedition sent out in 1607 by the Plymouth Company to settle near the mouth of the Kennebec River was unfortunate in two respects. It started too late, and it had no John Smith. Otherwise it had as fair a promise of permanency as the expedition prepared by the London Company. The Jamestown colony started December 19, 1606, and braved the

¹ Cf. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. XVIII, 432; XIX, 128. Cf. also the publications of the Gorges Society.

inclemency of winter in order to be early upon the ground of the new settlement, but it was paralyzed by the quarrels of its unfriendly leaders.

The Pemaquid colony started from Plymouth harbor in two ships on the thirty-first of May, 1607, and by the end of July they were among the islands off the mouth of the Kennebec. August 9, 1607, they landed on an island which they called St. George, and listened to a sermon by their chaplain, Rev. Richard Seymour. Both ships were at anchor in the harbor of Sagadahoc, August 16. Their leaders, Gilbert and Popham, were at any rate apparently in accord with one another. They had with them one of Waymouth's Indian captives, Skicowaros, or, as the narrative calls him, Skidwarres, and he was of great service, as the story shows. Raleigh Gilbert was a son of the famous Sir Humphrey, and George Popham was a nephew of the Chief Justice.

But the enforced return of Gilbert¹ to England and the death of Popham a few months later² would have ruined this colony even if the winter of 1607-8 had been less cold and the desire for precious metals less keen. Moreover, the aged Chief Justice died ten days after the expedition started.³ The Gilbert and Popham families would obviously be unlikely to continue at once their active support of the colony, and Gorges was doubtless unequal to such a task.

¹ On account of the death of his elder brother.

² He was buried within the fort St. George, over which he had ruled.

³ Don Pedro de Zuñiga wrote to his King, August 22, 1607, "As the chief justice has died, I think that this business will stop." Brown, I, 110.

The narrative of the expedition is evidently written by some one who sailed in Gilbert's ship, the *Mary and John*. Presumably the author was one James Davies, for that name is quoted as such by Purchas, who printed extracts from this narrative.¹ The ship commanded by Captain Popham was named *The Gift of God*.

The manuscript of this narrative was found by B. F. De Costa in 1875 in the library of Lambeth Palace in London, and was printed in 1880 in volume eighteen of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In 1892 it was reprinted by the Gorges Society of Portland, Maine, under the editorial supervision of Rev. Henry O. Thayer, and by the kind permission of that society, through Dr. Henry S. Bur-
rage, it is reproduced here.

The manuscript lacks the last few pages. These few pages are supplied from the "Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia" by William Strachey, who used this narrative in its original form in the compilation of his own work. Strachey's "Historie" remained in manuscript until 1849, when R. H. Major edited the copy in the British Museum for the Hakluyt Society. From this publication, and from Davies' "Relation" found by Dr. De Costa twenty-six years later, the history of the Pemaquid settlement in 1607 was for the first time revealed.

¹ Mr. Thayer ("The Sagadahoc Colony") shows by a process of elimination that Captain James Davies must have been the chronicler. Two brothers, Robert and James Davies, both navigators, were with the expedition, and in 1609 went together for Sir George Somers in command of a vessel called *Virginia*, which made a voyage to that colony. This boat was the pinnace built at Sagadahoc, as described in the latter part of the narrative.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

Altho the fort at Sabino was abandoned and the colony returned to England, it is probable that after 1607, and even after Waymouth's voyage in 1605, English sailors, fishers, and adventurers frequented the region around the mouths of the Kennebec during most if not all of the years down to the coming of the Pilgrims. There seems to be no evidence that any of them actually settled there.

IN THE NAM OF GOD, AMEN.

THE RELATION OF A VOYAGE, UNTO NEW ENGLAND. BEGAN FROM THE LIZARD, THE FIRST OF JUNE 1607, BY CAPT^N. POPHAM IN THE SHIP THE GIFT, AND CAPT^N. GILBERT IN THE MARY AND JOHN:

WRITTEN BY AND FOUND AMONGST THE PAPERS OF THE TRULY WOR^{PFULL}. SR. FERDINANDO GORGES, K^{NT}. BY ME WILLIAM GRIFFITH.¹

DEPARTED from the Lyzard² the firste daye of June Ano Domi 1607, beinge Mundaye about 6 of the Cloke in the afternoon and ytt bore of me then Northeste and by North eyght Leags of.

from thence Directed our Course for the Illlands of flowers & Corve³ in the w^{ch} we wear 24 dayes attainynge of ytt. All w^{ch} time we still kept the Sea and never Saw but on Saill beinge a ship of Salcom⁴ bound for the New Foundland whearin was on⁵ tosser of Dartmoth M^r. in her.

The 25th daye of June we fell wth the Illland of Gersea on of The Illlands of the Assores & ytt bore of us then South and by est ten Leags of, our M^r. & his matts makeinge ytt to be flowers but my Selffe wth stood them & reprooved them

¹ Gorges died in 1647, and the manuscript of the Relation did not come into Mr. Griffith's hand until after that date—possibly not until many years after. This heading was doubtless written by Mr. Griffith.

² At the southwestern extremity of England.

³ Flores and Corvo, islands of the Azores. Gersea, mentioned four lines below, is Gratiosa.

⁴ Salcombe, a village of Devonshire.

⁵ One; it will be seen that Captain Davies was accustomed to write on for one, of for off, and to for two.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

in their error as afterward ytt appeared manifestly and then stood Roome¹ for flowers.

The 26th of June we had Seight of flowers & Corvo & the 27th in the mornynge early we wear hard aboard flowers & stod in for to fynd a good rod for to anker Whearby to take in wood and watter the 28th we Descryed to Sailles, standinge in for flowers Whearby we presently Wayed Anker & stood towards the rod of Santa Cruse² beinge near three Leags from the place. Whear we wattered. their Cap^t popham ankered to take in wood and watter but ytt was So calme that we Could nott recover or gett unto hem beffor the daye cam on.

The 29th of June beinge Mundaye early in the morning those to Sailles we had seen the nyght beffore Wear neare unto us & beinge Calme they Sent their bots beinge full of men towards us. And after the orders of the Sea they hailed us demandynge us of whense we wear the w^{ch} we told them: & found them to be flemens & the stats shipes.³ on of our Company named John Goyett of plymoth knew the Cap^t. of on of the shipes for that he had ben att Sea wth hem. havinge aquainted Cap^t. Gilbert of this & beinge all frinds he desyered the Cap^t. of the Dutch to com near & take a can of bear the w^{ch} hee thankfully excepted we still keepinge our Selves in a redynesse both of our small shott & greatt; the Dutch Cap^t. beinge Com to our ships syde, Cap^t. Gilbert desyered hem to com aboard hem & entertand hem in the beste Sort he Could. this don they to requytt his kind entertainment desyered hem that he wold go aboard wth them, & uppon their earnest in-treaty he went wth them takinge three or 4 gentell wth hem, but when they had hem aboard of them they their kept hem per Forse charginge him that he was a pyratt & still threatnyng hemselffe & his gentellmen wth hem to throw them all overbord

¹ An old nautical term, meaning to tack about before the wind.

² Santa Cruz, a town on Flores.

³ Flemings and the Ships of the States; i.e., of the Netherlands.

THE SECOND VIRGINIA COLONY: DAVIES

& to take our ship from us. in this Sort they kept them from ten of the Clok mornynge untill eyght of the Clok nyght ussinge Som of his gent in most wild maner as Settinge Som of them in the bibowes¹ & buffettinge of others & other most wyld and shamffull abusses but in the end havinge Seene our Comission the w^{ch} was proffered unto them att the firste but they reffused to See yt and the greatest Cause doutinge² of the Inglyshe men beinge of thear owne Company who had promist Cap^t. Gilbert that yf they proffered to perfform that w^{ch} they still threatned hem that then they all woold Rysse wth hem & either end thear Lyves in his deffence or Suppress the Shipec. the w^{ch} the Dutch perseavinge presently Sett them att Lyberty & Sent them aboard unto us aggain to our no small Joye. Cap^t. popham all this tyme beinge in the Wind of us never woold Com roome unto us notwithstandinge we makege all the Seignes that possybell we myght by strykinge on topsaill & hoissinge ytt aggain three tymes & makege towards hem all that ever we possybell could.³ so hear we lost Company of hem beinge the 29th daye of June about 8 of the Clok att nyght beinge 6 Leags from flowers West norwest wee standinge our Course for Vyrgenia the 30th wee laye in Seight of the Illand.

The firste Daye of July beinge Wesdaye wee depted from the Illand of flowers beinge ten Leags South weste from ytt.

From hence we allwayes kept our Course to the Westward as much as wind & weather woold permytt untill the 27th daye of July duringe w^{ch} time wee often times Sounded but could never fynd grounde. this 27th early in the mornynge we Sounded & had ground⁴ but 18 fetham beinge then in the

¹ Bilboes or stocks.

² That is, the greatest cause of the final decision to set Gilbert free was the doubt or fear what the action of the Englishmen in the Dutch crew would be.

³ This behavior of Captain Popham shows that the expedition was scarcely fitted to found a successful colony.

⁴ Sable Island Bank, about twenty miles southwest of Sable Island.

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Lattitud of 43 degrees & $\frac{2}{3}$ hear w . . . fysht three howers & tooke near to hundred of Cods very great & large fyshe bigger and larger fyshe then that w^{ch} coms from the bancke of the New Found Land. hear wee myght have lodden our shipe in Lesse time then a moneth.

From hence the Wynd beinge att South west wee sett our Saills & stood by the wind west nor west towards the Land allwayes Soundinge for our better knowledg as we ran towarde the main Land from this bancke.

From this bancke we kept our Course west nor west 36 Leags w^{ch} ys from the 27th of July untill the 30th of July in w^{ch} tyme we ran 36 L. as ys beffore sayed & then we Saw the Land¹ about 10 of the Clok in the mornynge bearinge norweste from us About 10 Leags & then we Sounded & had a hundred fethams black oze. hear as we Cam in towards the Land from this bancke we still found deepe watt^r. the deepest within the bancke ys 160 fethams & in 100 fetham you shall See the Land yf ytt be Clear weather after you passe the bancke the ground ys still black oze untill yo Com near the shore. this daye wee stood in for the Land but Could nott recover ytt beffor the night tooke us so we stood a Lyttell from ytt & thear strok a hull² untill the next daye beinge the Laste of July. hear Lyeinge at hull we tooke great stor of cod fyses the bigeste & largest that I ever Saw or any man in our ship. this daye beinge the Last of July about 3 of the Clok in the after noon we recovered the shor & cam to an anker under an Illand³ for all this Cost ys full of Illands & broken Land but very Sound and good for shipinge to go by them the watt^r deepe. 18 & 20 fetham hard aboard them.

This Illand standeth in the lattitud of 44 d & $\frac{1}{2}$ & hear

¹ The cliffs of Cape La Hève.

² Struck a hull, i.e., lay to with all sails furled.

³ Thayer ("The Sagadahoc Colony," p. 42, note) mentions five islands which meet these requirements of latitude, but gives the preference to Ironbound Island near the harbor of La Hève.

we had nott ben att an anker past to howers beffore we espyed a bisken¹ shallop Cominge towards us havinge in her eyght Sallvages & a Lyttell salvage boye they cam near unto us & spoke unto us in thear Language. & we makeinge Seignes to them that they should com aboard of us showinge unto them knyves glasses beads & throwinge into thear bott Som bisket but for all this they wold nott com aboard of us but makeinge show to go from us we suffered them. So when they wear a Lyttell from us and Seeinge we proffered them no wronge of thear owne accord retorned & cam aboard of us & three of them stayed all that nyght wth us the rest depted in the shallope to the shore makeinge Seignes unto us that they wold retorn unto us aggain the next daye.

The next daye the Sam Salvages wth three Salvage wemen beinge the fryst daye of Auguste retorned unto us bringinge wth them Som feow skines of bever in an other bisken shallop and propheringe thear skines to trook wth us but they demanded over muche for them and we Seemed to make Lyght of them So then the other three w^{ch} had stayed wth us all nyght went into the shallop & So they depted ytt Seemth that the french hath trad wth them for they use many french words. the Cheeff Comander of these p^{ts} ys called Messamott and the ryver or harbor ys called emannett.² we take these peopell to be the tarentyns³ and these peopell as we have Learned sence do make wars wth Sasanoa the Cheeffe Comander to the westward whea . . . we have planted & this Somer they kild his Sonne.⁴ So the Salvages depted from us & cam no mor unto us. After they wear depted from us we hoysed out our bot whearin my Selffe was wth 12 others & rowed to the shore and landed on this Illand that we rod under the w^{ch} we found to

¹ Biscayan.

² At Cape La Hève. Champlain called the Indian here mentioned "Messamouët," and Lescarbot called him "Messamoet."

³ Tarratines.

⁴ This sentence seems to have been a later interpolation by the author.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

be a gallant Illand full of heigh & myghty trees of Sundry Sorts. hear we allso found aboundance of gusberyes, strawberyes, rasberyes & whorts. So we returned & Cam aboard.

Sondaye beinge the second of Auguste after dyner our bott went to the shore again to fille freshe watt^r whear after they had filled thear watt^r thear cam fower Salvages unto them havinge thear bowes & arrowes in thear hands makinge show unto them to have them Com to the shore but our Saillers havinge filled thear watt^r wold nott go to the shore unto them but returned & cam aboard beinge about 5 of the Clock in the afternoon. So the bott went presently from the ship unto a point of an Illand & thear att Lo watt^r in on hower kild near .50. great Lopsters. You shall See them Whear they Ly in shold^t Watt^r nott past a yeard deep & wth a great hooke mad faste to a staffe you shall hitch them up. thear ar great store of them you may near Lad a Ship wth them. & they are of greatt bignesse I have nott Seen the Lyke in England. So the bott returned a bord & wee toke our bott in & about myd nyght the wynd cam faier att northest we Sett Saille and depted from thence keepinge our Course South west for So the Cost Lyeth.

Mundaye being the third of Auguste in the morninge we wear faier by the shore and So Sailed alongste the Coste. we Saw many Illlands all alonge the Cost & great Sounds, goinge betwyxt them. but We could make prooffe of non for want of a penyshe.² hear we found fyshe still all alonge the Cost as we Sailed.

Tuesdaye being the 4th of Auguste in the morninge 5 of the Clok we wear theawart of a Cape or head Land³ Lyeing in the Latitud of 43 degrees and cam very near unto ytt. ytt ys very Low Land showinge Whytt Lyke sand but ytt ys Whytt

¹ Shoal.

² A pinnace.

³ Cape Sable.

THE SECOND VIRGINIA COLONY: DAVIES

Rocks and very stronge tides goeth hear from the place we stopt att beinge in 44 de & $\frac{1}{2}$. untill this Cape or head land ytt ys all broken Land & full of Illands & Large Sounds betwixt them & hear we found fyshe aboundance so large & great as I never Saw the Lyke Cods beffor nether any man in our shipe.

After we paste this Cape or head Land the Land falleth away and Lyeth in norwest and by north into a greatt deep baye.¹ We kept our course from this head Land West and Weste and by South 7 Leags and cam to thre Illands² whear cominge near unto them we found on the Southest Syd of them a great Leadge of Rocks³ Lyeinge near a Leage into the Sea the w^{ch} we perseavinge tackt our ship & the wynde being Large att northest Cleared our Selves of them kepinge still our course to the westward west and by South and west Southwest untill mydnyght. then after we hald in more northerly.

Wensdaye being the 5th of Auguste from after mydnyght we hald in West norwest untill 3 of the Clok afternoon of the Sam and then we Saw the Land aggain bearinge from us north weste & by north and ytt Risseth in this forme hear under.⁴ ten or 12 Leags from yo they ar three heigh mountains⁵ that Lye in upon the main Land near unto the ryver of penobskot in w^{ch} ryver the bashabe makes his abod the cheeffe Comander of those pts and streatcheth unto the ryver of Sagadehock⁶ under his Comand. yo shall see theise heigh mountains when yo shall not perseave the main Land under ytt they ar of shutch an exceedinge heygts: And note, that from the Cape or head Land beffor spoken of untill these heigh mountains we never Saw any Land except those three Illands also beffor

¹ Bay of Fundy ; this is one of the earliest, if not the earliest English reference to this bay.

² Seal Island and Mud Islands, five in all, but not clearly seen from the ship.

³ Now known as the Horseshoe.

⁴ The reference is to sketches in the manuscript.

⁵ The Camden Hills.

⁶ Kennebec.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

mensyoned. We stood in Right wth these mountains untill the next daye.

Thursdayer beinge the 6th of Auguste we stood in wth this heigh Land untill 12 of the Cloke noon & then I found the shipe to be in 43 d & ½ by my observatio¹ from thence we Sett our Course & stood awaye dew weste & Saw three other Illands² Lyenge together beinge Lo & flatt by the watt^r showinge whytt as yff ytt wear Sand but ytt ys whytt Rocks makinge show a far of allmose Lyke unto Dover Cleeves³ & these three Illands Lye dew est & west on of the other. so we Cam faier by them and as we Cam to the Westward the heygh Land beffor spoken of shewed ytt selfe in this form as followith.⁴

From hence we kept still our Course West & Weste by North towards three other Illands⁵ that we Sawe Lyenge from these Illands beffor spoken of 8 Leags and about ten of the Clok att nyght we recovered them & havinge Sent in our bott beffor nyght to vew ytt for that ytt was Calme & to Sound ytt & See whatt good ankoringe was under ytt we bor in wth on of them the w^{ch} as we cam in by we still sounded & founde very deep watt^r 40 fetham hard aboard of yt. So we stood in into a Cove In ytt & had 12 fetham watt^r & thear we ankored untill the mornynge. And when the daye appeared We Saw we weare environed Round about with Illands yo myght have told neare thirty Illands round about us from aboard our shipe this Illand we Call S^t. Georges Illand for that we hear found a Crosse Sett up the w^{ch} we Suposse was Sett up by George Wayman.⁶

Frydaye beinge the 7th of Auguste we wayed our Ankor

¹ This shows that the writer was the pilot of the vessel.

² The Matinicus group.

³ Cliffs.

⁴ Sketches in the manuscript.

⁵ The St. George's Islands.

⁶ Probably Allen's Island.

THE SECOND VIRGINIA COLONY: DAVIES

whereby to bringe our shipe in mor bett' Safty how Soever the wynd should happen to blow and about ten of the Cloke in the mornynge as we weare standinge of a Lyttell from the Illand we descried a saill standinge in towards this Illand & we presently mad towards her & found ytt to be the *gyfte* our Consort So beinge all Joye full of our happy meetinge we both stood in again for the Illand we ryd under beffor & theare anckored both together.

This night followinge about myd nyght Cap^t. Gilbert caussed his ships bott to be maned & took to hemselffe 13 other my Selffe beinge on, beinge 14 persons in all, & tooke the Indyan skidwarres wth us¹ the weather beinge faier & the wynd Calme we rowed to the Weste in amongst many gallant Illands and found the ryver of pemaquyd to be but 4 Leags weste from the Illand we Call S^t. Georges whear our ships remained still att anckor. hear we Landed in a Lyttell Cove² by skyd warres Direction & marched over a necke of the Land near three mills. So the Indyan skidwarres brought us to the Salvages housses whear they did inhabitt although much against his will for that he told us that they wear all removed & gon from the place they wear wont to inhabitt. but we answered hem again that we wold nott retorn backe untill shutch time as we had spoken with Som of them. At Length he brought us whear they did inhabytt whear we found near a hundreth of them men wemen and Children. And the Cheeffe Comander of them ys Nahanada.³ att our fryste Seight of them uppon a howlinge or Cry that they mad they all presently Isued forth towards us wth thear bowes and arrows & we presently mad a stand & Suffered them to Com near unto us. then our Indyan skidwarres spoke unto them

¹ Skicowaros, according to Rosier's spelling, one of the Indians captured by Waymouth.

² Probably at New Harbor; "three mills," of course means three miles.

³ Another of the Indians captured by Waymouth, who had been brought back by Capt. Hanham in the previous year.

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in thear language showinge them what we wear w^{ch} when nahanada thear Comander perseaved what we wear he Caused them all to laye assyd thear bowes & arrowes and cam unto us and imbrassed us & we did the lyke to them aggain. So we remained wth them near to howers & wear in thear housses. Then we tooke our Leave of them & returned wth our Indyan skidwarres wth us towards our ships the 8th Daye of August being Satterdaye in the after noon.

Sondaye being the 9th of Auguste in the morninge the most p^t of our holl company of both our shipes Landed on this Illand the w^{ch} we call S^t. Georges Illand whear the Crosse standeth and thear we heard a Sermon delyvred unto us by our preacher^r gyvinge god thanks for our happy metinge & Saffe aryvall into the Contry & So returned aboard aggain.

Mundaye beinge the Xth of Auguste early in the morninge Cap^t. popham in his shallope wth thirty others & Cap^t. Gilbert in his ships bott wth twenty others Acompanede Depted from thear shipes & sailed towards the ryver of pemaquyd & Caryed wth us the Indyan skidwarres and Cam to the ryver ryght beffore thear housses whear they no Sooner espyed us but presently Nahanada wth all his Indians wth thear bowes and arrows in thear hands Cam forth upon the Sands. So we Caused skidwarres to speak unto hem & we our Selves spok unto hem in Inglyshe givinge hem to understand our Cominge tended to no yvell towards hem Selffe nor any of his peopell. he told us again he wold nott thatt all our peopell should Land. So because we woold in no sort offend them, hearuppon Som ten or twelffe of the Cheeff gent Landed & had Some parle together & then afterward they wear well contented that all should Land. So all landed we ussinge them with all the kindnesse that possibell we Could. neverthesse after an hower or to they all Soddainly withdrew them Selves from us into the woods & Lefte us. we perseavinge this presently

^r Rev. Richard Seymour.

imbarked our Selves all except skidwarres who was nott Desy-
erous to retorn with us. We Seeinge this woold in no Sort
proffer any Violence unto hem by drawing hem perfforce
Suffered hem to remain,—and staye behinde us, he promys-
singe to retorn unto us the next Daye followinge but he heald
not his promysse. So we imbarked our Selves and went unto
the other Syd of the ryver¹ & thear remained uppon the shore
the nyght followinge—

Tuesdaye being the xith of Auguste we retorned and cam
to our ships whear they still remained att ankor under the
Illand we call S^t. Georges—

Wensdaye being the xiith of Auguste we wayed our ankors
and Sett our saills to go for the ryver of Sagadehock. we kept
our Course from thence dew Weste until 12 of the Clok myd-
nyght of the Sam. then we stroke our Saills & layed a hull
untill the mornynge Doutinge for to overshoot ytt—

Thursdaye in the mornynge breacke of the daye beinge the
xiiith of Auguste the Illand of Sutquin² bore north of us nott
past half a leage from us and ytt rysseth in this form hear
under followinge³ the w^{ch} Illand Lyeth ryght beffore the mouth
of the ryver of Sagadehocke South from ytt near 2 Leags but
we did not make ytt to be Sutquin so we Sett our saills &
stood to the westward for to Seeke ytt 2 Leags farther &
nott fyndinge the ryver of Sagadehocke we knew that we had
overshott the place. then we wold have retorned but Could
nott & the nyght in hand the *gifte* Sent in her shallop & mad
ytt and went into the ryver this nyght but we wear constrained
to remain att Sea all this nyght and about mydnight thear
arosse a great storme & tempest uppon us the w^{ch} putt us
in great daunger and hassard of castinge awaye of our ship
& our Lyves by reason we wear so near the shore. the wynd

¹ Fearing treachery ?

² Seguin.

³ Sketches in the manuscript.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

blew very hard att South right in uppon the shore so that by no means we could nott gett of. hear we sought all means & did what possybell was to be don for that our Lyves depended on ytt. hear we plyed ytt wth our ship of & on all the nyght often times espyeinge many soonken rocks and breatches hard by us enforsynge us to put our ship about & stand from them bearinge sail when ytt was mor fyttter to have taken ytt in but that ytt stood uppon our Lyves to do ytt & our bott Soonk att our stern yet woold we nott cut her from us in hope of the appearinge of the daye. thus we Contynued untill the daye cam. then we perseaved our Selves to be hard aboard the Lee shore & no waye to escape ytt but by Seekinge the Shore. then we espyed 2 Lyttell Illands¹ Lyeinge under our lee. So we bore up the healme & steerd in our shipe in betwyxt them whear the Lord be praised for ytt we found good and sauffe ankkoringe & thear anckored the storme still contynuinge untill the next daye followynge.

Frydaye beinge the xiiiith of August that we anckored under these Illands thear we repaired our bott being very muche torren & spoiled. then after we Landed on this Illand & found 4 Salvages & an old woman. this Illand ys full of pyne trees & ocke and abundance of whorts of fower Sorts of them —

Satterdaye beinge the 15th of Auguste the storme ended and the wind Cam faier for us to go for Sagadehock. so we wayed our anckors & Sett Sall & stood to the estward & cam to the Illand of Sutquin w^{ch} was 2 Leags from those Illands we rod att anker beffor, & hear we anckored under the Illand of Sutqin in the estersyd of ytt for that the wynd was of the shore that wee could no gett into the ryver of Sagadehock & hear Cap^t. pophams ships bott cam aboard of us & gave us xx freshe Cods that they had taken beinge Sent out a fyshinge —

Sondaye beinge the 16th of Auguste Cap^t. popham Sent his Shallop unto us for to healp us in. So we wayed our anckors

¹ Cape Small Point (which seemed to them to be an island) and Seal Island.

THE SECOND VIRGINIA COLONY: DAVIES

& beinge Calme we towed in our ship & Cam into the Ryver of Sagadehocke and anckored by the *gyfts* Syd about xi of the Cloke the Sam daye.

Mundaye beinge the 17th Auguste Cap^t. popham in his shallop wth 30 others & Cap^t. Gilbert in his shipes bott accompanied wth 18 other persons depted early in the morninge from thear ships & sailed up the Ryver of Sagadehock for to vew the Ryver & allso to See whear they myght fynd the most Convenyent place for thear plantation my Selffe beinge wth Cap^t. Gilbert. So we Sailed up into this ryver near 14 Leags and found ytt to be a most gallant ryver very brod & of a good depth. we never had Lesse Watt^r then 3 fetham when we had Least, & abundance of greatt fyshe¹ in ytt Leaping above the Watt^r on each Syd of us as we Sailed. So the nyght aprochinge after a whill we had refreshed our Selves upon the shore about 9 of the Cloke we sett backward to retorn & Cam abourd our shipes the next day followinge about 2 of the Clok in the afternoon. We fynd this ryver to be very pleasant wth many goodly Illands in ytt & to be both Large and deepe Watt^r havinge many branches in ytt. that w^{ch} we tooke bendeth ytt Selffe towards the northest—²

Tuesdaye beinge the 18th after our retorn we all went to the shore & thear mad Choies of a place for our plantation³ wh^{ch} ys at the very mouth or entry of the Ryver of Sagadehocke on the West Syd of the Ryver beinge almoste an Illand of a good bygness. whylst we wear upon the shore thear Cam in three Cannoos by us but they wold not Com near us but rowed up the Ryver & so past away—

Wensday beinge the 19th Auguste we all went to the shore whear we mad Choise for our plantation and thear we had a

¹ Sturgeon.

² They must have gone up the Kennebec nearly to where Augusta now stands.

³ On the peninsula known as Hunnewell's point. Strachey gives the Indian name of the place as Sabino.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

Sermon delyvred unto us by our precher and after the Sermon our pattent was red wth the orders & Lawes thearin prescrybed & then we returned aboard our ships again —¹

Thursdaye beinge the 20th of Auguste all our Companyes Landed & thear began to fortifye. our presedent Cap^t. popham Sett the fryst spytt of ground unto ytt and after hem all the rest followed & Labored hard in the trenches about ytt.

Frydaye the 21st of Auguste all hands Labored hard about the fort Som in the trentch Som for fagetts & our ship Carpenters about the buildinge of a small penis² or shallop.

Satterdaye the 22^d Auguste Cap^t. popham early in the morninge deputed in his shallop to go for the ryver of paship-skoke.³ thear they had parle wth the Salvages again who delyvred unto them that they had ben att wars wth Sasanoa & had slain his Soone in fyght. skidwares and Dehanada wear in this fyght.

Sondaye the 23^d our presedent Cap^t. popham returned unto us from the ryver of pashipskoke.

The 24th all Labored about the fort.

Tuesdaye the 25th Cap^t. Gilbert imbarked hem Selffe wth 15 other wth hem to go to the Westward uppon Som Discovery but the Wynd was contrary & forsed hem backe again the Sam daye.

The 26th & 27th all Labored hard about the fort.

Frydaye the 28th Cap^t. Gilbert wth 14 others my Selffe beinge on Imbarked hem to go to the westward again. So the wynd Servinge we Sailed by many gallant Illlands⁴ & towards nyght the winde Cam Contrary against us So that we wear Constrained to remain that nyght under the head Land called

¹ Strachey names the officers: "George Popham, gent., was nominated President; Capt. Raleigh Gilbert, James Davies, Richard Seymer, Preacher, Capt. Richard Davies, Capt. Harlow were all sworne Assistants." (*Historie of Travaile*, p. 172.)

² Pinnacle; the fagots were for the fortification.

³ The Pejepscoot or Androscoggin.

⁴ Islands of Casco Bay.

THE SECOND VIRGINIA COLONY: DAVIES

Semeamis¹ wher we found the Land to be most fertill the trees growinge thear doth exceed for goodnesse & Length being the most p^t of them ocke & wallnutt growinge a greatt space assoonder on from the other as our parks in England and no thickett growinge under them. hear wee also found a gallant place to fortifye whom Nattuer ytt Selffe hath already framed wth out the hand of man wth a runyng stream of watter hard adjoyninge under the foott of ytt.

Satterdaye the 29th Auguste early in the mornynge we deputed from thence & rowed to the westward for that the wind was againste us. but the wynd blew so hard that forced us to remain under an Illand² 2 Leags from the place we remayned the night beffore. whilst we remayned under this Illand thear passed to Cannoes by us but they wold nott Com neare us. after mydnyght we put from this Illand in hope to have gotten the place we dessyered³ but the wind arose and blew so hard at Southwest Contrary for us that forced us to return.

Sondaye beinge the 30th Auguste retornynge beffore the wynd we sailed by many goo[d]ly Illands for betwixt this head Land called Semeamis & the ryver of Sagadehock ys a great baye in the w^{ch} Lyeth So many Illands & so thicke & neare together that yo Cannott well desern to Nomber them yet may yo go in betwixt them in a good ship for yo shall have never Lesse Watter the[n] 8 fethams. these Illands ar all overgrown wth woods very thicke as ocks wallnut pyne trees & many other things growinge as Sarsaperilla hassell nuts and whorts in abundance. So this day we returned to our fort att Sagadehock.

Munday being the Laste of Auguste nothings hapened but all Labored for the buildinge of the fort & for the storhouse to reseave our vyttuall.

¹ Some part of Cape Elizabeth.

² Richmond's Island.

³ Which may show that some of them had been along this coast before.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

Tuesday the first of September thear Cam a Canooa unto us in the w^{ch} was 2 greatt kettells of brasse. Som of our Company did parle wth them but they did rest very doutfull of us and wold nott Suffer mor then on att a tyme to Com near unto them. So he depted. The Second daye third and 4th nothings hapened worth the wryttinge but that eatch man did his beste endeavour for the buildinge of the fort.

Satterdaye beinge the 5th of Septemb^r thear Cam into the entraunce of the ryver of Sagadehocke nine Canoos in the w^{ch} was Dehanada and skidwarres wth many others, in the wholl near fortye persons men women and Children. they Cam & parled wth us & we aggain ussed them in all frindly maner We Could & gave them vyttails for to eatt. So skidwarres & on more of them stayed wth us untill nyght. The rest of them withdrew them in thear Canooas to the farther Syd of the ryver. but when nyght Cam for that skidwares wold needs go to the rest of his Company Cap^t. Gilbert accompaned wth James Davis and Cap^t. ellis best¹ took them into our bott & Caryed them to thear Company on the farther syd the ryver & thear remained amongst them all the nyght & early in the mornynge the Sallvages depted in thear Canooas for the ryver of pemaquid promysinge Cap^t. Gilbert to accompany hem in thear Canooas to the ryver of penobskot whear the bashabe remayneth.

The 6th nothings happened. the 7th our ship the *Mary* & *John* began to discharge her vyttualls.

Tuesday beinge the 8th Septemb^r Cap^t. Gilbert accompaned wth xxii others my Selffe beinge on of them depted from the fort to go for the ryver of penobskott takinge wth hem divers Sorts of M^rchandise for to trad wth the Bashabe who ys the Cheeffe Comander of those p^{ts} but the wind was Contrary againste hem so that he could nott Com to dehanada & skidwares at the time apointed for ytt was the xith daye beffor he

¹ Capt. Ellis Best.

THE SECOND VIRGINIA COLONY: DAVIES

Could gett to the ryver of pemaquid Whear they do make thear abbod.

Frydaye beinge the xith in the mornynge early we Cam into the ryver of pemaquyd thear to Call nahanada & skidwares as we had promyste them. but beinge thear aryved we found no Lyvinge Creatuer. they all wear gon from thence. the w^{ch} we perseavinge presently depted towards the ryver of penobskott. Saillinge all this daye & the xiith & xiiith the Lyke yett by no means Could we fynd ytt. So our vitall beinge spent we hasted to return. So the wynd Cam faier for us & we Sailed all the 14th & 15th dayes in retornynge the Wind blowinge very hard att north & this mornynge the 15th daye we pseaved a blassing^r star in the northeast of us.

The 16th 17th 18th 19th 20th 21st 22^d nothinge hapened but all Labored hard about the fort & the store house for to Land our wyttails.

The 23^d beinge Wensdaye Cap^t. Gilbert acompaned wth 19 others my Selfe on of them depted from the fort to go for the head of the ryver of Sagadehock. we Sailed all this daye. So did we the Lyke the 24th untill the evenynge. then we Landed thear to remain that Nyght. hear we found a gallant Champion Land & exceeddinge fertill. So hear we remayned all nyght.

The 25th beinge frydaye early in the mornynge we depted from hence & sailled up the ryver about eyght Leags farther untill we Cam unto an Illand² beinge Lo Land & flatt. att this Illand ys a great down Fall of watt^r the w^{ch} runeth by both Sydes of this Illand very swyfte & shallow. in this Illand we found greatt store of grapes exceedinge good and sweett of to Sorts both red butt the on of them ys a mervellous deepe red. by both the syds of this ryver the grapes grow in abundance

¹ Perceived a blazing star, i.e., a meteor.

² At Augusta. There was formerly an Island, near the eastern bank of the river just below the falls, known as Cushnoc Island.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

& also very good Hoppes & also Chebolls¹ & garleck. and for the goodnesse of the Land ytt doth so far abound that I Cannott allmost expresse the Sam. hear we all went ashore & wth a stronge Rope made fast to our bott & on man in her to gyde her aggainst the Swyfte stream we pluckt her up throwe ytt pforce.² after we had past this down-Fall we all went into our bott again & rowed near a Leage farther up into the ryver & nyght beinge att hand we hear stayed all nyght. & in the fryst of the night about ten of the Cloke thear Cam on the farther syd of the ryver sartain Salvages Callinge unto us in broken inglyshe. we answered them aggain. So for this time they deputed.

The 26th beinge Satterdaye thear Cam a Canooa unto us & in hear fower salvages those that had spoken unto us in the nyght beffore. his name that Came unto us ys Sabenoa. he macks hemselffe unto us to be Lord of the ryver of Sagadehock.

[Here ends the ms. in the Lambeth palace library.]

The remainder of the narration is taken from Chapter X of the "Historie of Travaile into Virginia," by William Strachey, who surely used the whole of this narrative as his source of information.

THEY entertayned him friendly, and tooke him into their boat and presented him with some triffling things, which he accepted; howbeyt, he desired some one of our men to be put into his canoa as a pawne of his safety, whereupon Captain

¹ Onions, Fr. ciboule.

² Perforce.

Gilbert sent in a man of his, when presently the canoa rowed away from them with all the speed they could make up the river. They followed with the shallop, having great care that the Sagamo should not leape overboard. The canoa quickly rowed from them and landed, and the men made to their howses, being neere a league on the land from the river's side, and carried our man with them. The shallop making good way, at length came to another downefall,¹ which was so shallowe and soe swift, that by noe means they could passe any further, for which, Captain Gilbert, with nine others, landed and tooke their fare, the salvadge Sagamo, with them, and went in search after those other salvages, whose howses, the Sagamo told Captain Gilbert, were not farr off; and after a good tedious march, they came indeed at length unto those salvages' howses where found neere fifty able men very strong and tall, such as their like before they had not seene; all newly painted and armed with their bowes and arrowes. Howbeyt, after that the Sagamo had talked with them, they delivered back again the man, and used all the rest very friendly, as did ours the like by them, who shewed them their comodities of beads, knives, and some copper, of which they seemed very fond; and by waye of trade, made shew that they would come' downe to the boat and there bring such things as they had to exchange them for ours. Soe Captain Gilbert departed from them, and within half an howre after he had gotten to his boat, there came three canoas down unto them, and in them some sixteen salvages, and brought with them some tobacco and certayne small skynes, which were of no value; which Captain Gilbert perceaving, and that they had nothing ells wherewith to trade, he caused all his men to come aboard, and as he would have putt from the shore; the salvadges perceiving so much, subtilely devised how they might put out the fier in the shallop, by which meanes they sawe

¹ Bacon's Rips, five miles above Cushnoc.

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they should be free from the danger of our men's pieces,¹ and to performe the same, one of the salvages came into the shallop and taking the fier brand which one of our company held in his hand thereby to light the matches, as if he would light a pipe of tobacco, as sone as he had gotten yt into his hand he presently threw it into the water and leapt out of the shallop. Captain Gilbert seeing that, suddenly commanded his men to betake them to their musketts and the targettiers too, from the head of the boat, and bad one of the men before, with his targett on his arme, to stepp on the shore for more fier; the salvages resisted him and would not suffer him to take any, and some others holding fast the boat roap that the shallop could not pott off. Captain Gilbert caused the musquettiers to present their peeces, the which, the salvages seeing, presently let go the boatroap and betooke them to their bowes and arrowes, and ran into the bushes, nocking their arrowes,² but did not shoot, neither did ours at them. So the shallop departed from them to the further side of the river, where one of the canoas came unto them, and would have excused the fault of the others. Captain Gilbert made shew as if he were still friends, and entertayned them kindlye and soe left them, returning to the place where he had lodged the night before, and there came to an anchor for that night. The head of the river standeth in 45 degrees and odd mynutts. Upon the continent they found abundance of spruse trees such as are able to maast the greatest ship his majestie hath, and many other trees, oake, walnutt, pineapple;³ fish, abundance; great store of grapes, hopps, chiballs, also they found certaine codd⁴ in which they supposed the cotton wooll to grow, and also upon the bancks many shells of pearle.

¹ The Indians evidently knew enough about Europeans to learn how they fired their guns.

² *I. e.*, laying the arrow to the bowstring.

³ Probably the pitch-pine.

⁴ Pods; perhaps the silk-weed.

THE SECOND VIRGINIA COLONY: STRACHEY

27. Here they sett up a crosse and then returned homeward, in the way seeking the by river of some note called Sasanoa.¹ This daye and the next they sought yt, when the weather turned fowle and full of fog and raine, they made all hast to the fort before which, the 29th, they arrived.

30. and 1 and 2 of October, all busye about the fort.

3. There came a canoa unto some of the people of the fort as they were fishing on the sand, in which was Skidwares, who badd them tell their president that Nahanada, with the Basha-baes brother, and others, were on the further side of the river, and the next daie would come and visitt him.

4. There came two canoas to the fort, in which were Nahanada and his wife, and Skidwares, and the Basshabaes brother, and one other called Amenquin, a Sagamo; all whome the president feasted and entertayned with all kindnes, both that day and the next, which being Sodaye, the president carried them with him to the place of publike prayers, which they were at both morning and evening, attending yt with great reverence and silence.

6.² The salvadges departed all except Amenquin the Sagamo, who would needes staye amongst our people a longer tyme. Upon the departure of the others, the president gave unto every one of them copper beades, or knives, which contented them not a little, as also delivered a present unto the Basshabae's brother, and another for his wife, giving him to understand that he would come unto his court in the river of Penobscot, and see him very shortly, bringing many such like of his country commodities with him.

³You maie please to understand how, whilst this busines was thus followed here, soone after their first arrivall, that

¹ The tidal river connecting the waters of the Kennebec with those of Sheepscot Bay.

² I.e., October 6th.

³ From the change in style in the remaining paragraphs we may suppose that Strachey departs here from Davies' narrative, or else paraphrases it very liberally.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

had dispatch't away Capt. Robert Davies, in the *Mary and John*,¹ to advertise of their safe arrival and forwardness of their plantacion within this river of Sachadehoc, with letters to the Lord Chief Justice, ymportuninge a supply for the most necessary wants to the subsisting of a colony, to be sent unto them betymes the next yeare.

After Capt. Davies' departure they fully finished the fort, trencht and fortified yt with twelve pieces of ordinaunce, and built fifty howses,² therein, besides a church and a storehowse; and the carpenters framed a pretty Pynnace of about some thirty tonne, which they called the *Virginia*; the chief ship wright beinge one Digby of London.

Many discoveries likewise had been made both to the mayne and unto the neighbour rivers, and the frontier nations fully discovered by the diligence of Capt. Gilbert, had not the wynter proved soe extreame unseasonable and frosty; for yt being in the yeare 1607, when the extraordinary frost was felt in most parts of Europe, yt was here likewise as vehement, by which noe boat could stir upon any busines. Howbeyt, as tyme and occasyon gave leave, there was nothing omitted which could add unto the benefitt or knowledg of the planters, for which when Capt. Davies arrived there in the yeare following (sett out from Topsam, the port towne of Exciter,³ with a shipp laden full of vitualls, armes, instruments and tooles, etc.) albeyt he found Mr. George Popham, the president, and some other dead, yet he found all things in good forwardness, and many kinds of fursr obteyned from the Indians by way of trade; good store of sarsaparilla gathered, and the new pynnace all finished. But by reason that Capt. Gilbert received letters that his brother was newly dead, and a faire

¹ A letter written by Sir Ferdinando Gorges records the sailing of one of the vessels in October. This would indicate that the first vessel to return was the *Mary and John*.

² Evidently an error.

³ Exeter.

THE SECOND VIRGINIA COLONY: POPHAM

portion of land fallen unto his share, which required his repairer home, and noe mynes discovered, nor hope thereof, being the mayne intended benefit expected to uphold the charge of this plantacion, and the feare that all other wynters would prove like the first, the company by no means would stay any longer in the country, especyally Capt. Gilbert being to leave them, and Mr. Popham, as aforesaid, dead; wherefore they all ymbarqued in this new arrived shipp, and in the new pynnace, the *Virginia*, and sett saile for England. And this was the end of that northerne colony upon the river Sachadehoc.

Text of Latin Letter of George Popham, President of the colony of St. George at Sagadehoc, to King James I, dated at St. George, December 13, 1607.¹

AD pedes serenissimi regis sui humillimè se projecit Georgius Pophamus, Præsidentis secundæ Coloniae Virginiae. Si divinæ Majestatis Tuæ placuerit patientiæ, a servo observantissimo ac devotissimo, quamvis indigno, pauca recipere, ab Altitudinis Tuæ claritate vel minimum alienare arbitror, quoniam in Dei gloriam, Sublimitatis Vestræ amplitudinem, et Britannorum utilitatem redundare videantur. Peræquum igitur judicavi Majestati Tuæ notum fieri, quod apud Virginios et Moassones, nullus in orbe terrarum magis admiratur, quam Dominus Jacobus Britannorum Imperator, propter admirabilem justitiam ac incredibilem constantiam, quæ istarum provinciarum nativis non mediocrem perfert lætitiâ; dicentibus insuper nullum esse Deum verè adorandum præter illum Domini Jacobi; sub cujus ditione atque imperio libenter

¹ Cf. Popham Memorial Volume, published by Bailey & Noyes, Portland, 1863, pp. 220-226; also Brown, "Genesis of the U. S.," I, 145, 146.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

militare voluerint. Tahanida, unus ex nativis que Britannia adfuit, Vestras laudes ac virtutes hic illis illustravit.

Quid et quantum, in his negotiis subeundis et illorum animis confirmandis, valerem, eorum sit iudicium, qui domi volutarunt scienter; agnoscens omnes conatus meos perire, cum in comparatione officii debiti erga Principem habeantur. Optima me tenet opinio Dei gloriam facile in his regionibus elucescere, Vestrae Majestatis imperium amplificari, et Britannorum rempublicam breviter augmentari. Quod ad mercimonium attinet, omnes indigenae constanter affirmant, his inesse provinciis nuces amisticas,¹ maciam et cinnamomum; praeterea bitumen, lignum Brasiliae, cochinelam et ambergetie,² cum multis aliis magni momenti et valoris; eaque maximam quidem in abundantiam.

Insuper affirmativè mecum agunt, esse mare aliquod, in adversam vel occidentali hujus provinciae parte, non plus [quam] septem dierum itineris spatium a praesidio nostro Sancti Georgii in Sagadahoc, amplum, latum et profundum; cujus terminos prorsus ignorant; quod aliud esse non potest nisi Australe, tendens ad regiones Chinae, quae longè ab his partibus procul dubio esse non possunt.

Si igitur placuerit divinos habere oculos Tuos apertos in subjecto certificationis meae, non dubito quin Celsitudo Vestra absolvat opus Deo gratissimum, Magnificentiae Vestrae honorificum, et reipublicae Tuae maximè conducibile, quod ardentissimis precibus vehementer exopto; et à Deo Optimo, Maximo, contendo ut regis mei Domini Jacobi Majestatem quam diutissimè servet gloriosam.

In praesidio Sancti Georgii, in Sagadahoc de Virginia, 13^o Decembris, 1607.

Servus Vestrae Majestatis omnimodis devotissimus,

Georgius Pophamus.

¹ Myristicas; myristica moschata = nutmeg. Cf. Popham Memorial Volume, 224.

² Ambergetim.

THE SECOND VIRGINIA COLONY: POPHAM

Translation of Letter of George Popham to King James I.

Superscription: To the most heigh and mightie my gracious Sovereign Lord James of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, Virginia and Moasson,¹ Kinge.

AT the feet of his most serene King humbly prostrates himself George Popham, President of the second colony of Virginia. If it may please the patience of your divine Majesty to receive a few words from your most observant and devoted tho unworthy servant, I trust it will derogate nothing from the luster of your Highness, since they seem to redound to the glory of God, the greatness of your Majesty and the usefulness of the Britons. I have thought it, therefore, very just that it should be made known to your Majesty that among the Virginians and Moassons there is no one in the world more admired than King James, Sovereign Lord of the Britons, on account of his admirable justice and incredible constancy, which gives no small pleasure to the natives of these regions; who say, moreover, that there is no God to be truly worshipped but the God of King James; under whose rule and reign they would gladly fight. Tahanida, one of the natives who was in Britain, has here proclaimed to them your praises and virtues.

What and how much I may avail in transacting these affairs and in confirming their minds, let those judge who are well versed in these matters at home; while I wittingly avow that all my endeavors are as nothing when considered in comparison with my duty towards my Prince. My well considered opinion is that in these regions the glory of God may be easily evidenced, the empire of your Majesty enlarged, and the public welfare of the Britons speedily augmented.

¹ Moasson — Mavooshen, names of land between the Penobscot and the Kennebec.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

So far as relates to commerce all the natives constantly affirm that in these parts there are nutmegs,¹ mace and cinnamon,² besides pitch, Brazil wood,³ cochineal and ambergris,⁴ with many other products of great importance and value; and these, too, in the greatest abundance.

Besides they positively assure me that there is a certain sea in the opposite or western part of this province, distant not more than seven days' journey from our fort of St. George in Sagadahoc; a sea large, wide and deep, of the boundaries of which they are wholly ignorant; which cannot be any other than the southern ocean, reaching to the regions of China, which unquestionably cannot be far from these parts.

If, therefore, it may please you to keep open your divine eyes on this matter of my report, I doubt not that your Highness will perform a work most pleasing to God, honorable to your greatness, and most conducive to the weal of your kingdom, which with most ardent prayers I vehemently desire; and I beg of God, the best and the greatest, that He will preserve the glorious majesty of my Sovereign James for ages to come.

At the Fort of St. George in Sagadahoc of Virginia, the thirteenth of December, 1607. In all things your Majesty's most devoted servant,

George Popham.

¹ He probably referred to Indian descriptions of hazel-nuts.

² Sassafras probably intended.

³ Probably red cedar intended.

⁴ Whales were seen off the coast.

THE SAGADAHOC COLONY IN PURCHAS'S
"PILGRIMAGE."

THE following paragraphs about the Sagadahoc colony which were written by Purchas for his first work, called "Purchas His Pilgrimage," appeared in the second edition, published in 1614. This story summarizes what the author knew of the colony at that time from various sources. The names given in the footnotes are those placed by Purchas in the margin of his work as authorities for his statements.

A.D. 1607, was settled a plantation in the River Sagadahoc; the ships called the *Gift* and the *Mary and John*,¹ being sent thither by that famous English Justicer, Sir John Popham, and others. They found this coast of Virginia full of islands, but safe. They chose the place of their plantation at the mouth of Sagadahoc, in a westerly peninsula; there heard a sermon, read their patent and laws, and built a fort. They sailed up to discover the river and country, and encountered with an island where was a great fall of water, over which they hauled their boat with a rope, and came to another fall, shallow, swift, and unpassable. They found the country stored with grapes, white and red, good hops, onions, garlic, oaks, walnuts, the soil good. The head of the river is in forty-five and odd minutes. Cape Sinieamis in 43° 30', a good place to fortify. Their fort bare name of Saint George. Forty-five remained there,² Captain George Popham being President, Raleigh Gilbert, Admiral.

¹ James Davies. The *Mary and John* commanded by Capt. Gilbert was the principal vessel. The full name of the smaller boat, commanded by Capt. Popham, was *The Gift of God*.

² Jo. Eliot.

VOYAGES TO THE NEW ENGLAND COASTS

The people seemed affected with our men's devotions, and would say "King James is a good king, his God a good God, and Tanto naught." So they call an evil spirit which haunts them every moon, and makes them worship him for fear. He commanded them not to dwell near or come among the English, threatening to kill some and inflict sickness on others, beginning with two of their Sagamos children, saying he had power, and would do the like to the English the next moon, to wit, in December.¹

The people² told our men of cannibals, near Sagadahoc, with teeth three inches long, but they saw them not. In the river of Tamescot they found oysters nine inches in length; and were told that on the other side they were twice as great. On the 18th of January they had, in seven hours' space, thunder, lightning, rain, frost, snow, all in abundance, the last continuing. On February 5 the president died. The savages remove their dwellings in winter nearest the deer. They have a kind of shoes a yard long, fourteen inches broad, made like a racket, with strong twine or sinews of a deer; in the midst is a hole wherein they put their foot, buckling it fast. When a Sagamos dieth they black themselves, and at the same time yearly renew their mourning with great howling; as they then did for Kashurakeny, who died the year before. They report that the cannibals have a sea behind them. They found a bath two miles about, so hot that they could not drink it. Mr. Patteson was slain by the savages of Nanhoc, a river of the Tarentines. Their short commons³ caused fear of mutiny. One of the savages, called Aminquin, for a straw hat and knife given him stripped himself of his clothing of beaver's skins, worth in England fifty shillings or three pounds, to present them to the president, leaving only a flap to cover

¹ Evidently a report of the talk of some unfriendly chief or "medicine man."

² Ral. Gilbert.

³ Edward Harley.

THE SECOND VIRGINIA COLONY: PURCHAS

his privities. He would also have come with them for England. In winter they are poor and weak, and do not then company with their wives, but in summer when they are fat and lusty. But your eyes, wearied with this Northern view which in that winter communicated with us in extremity of cold, look now for greater hopes in the Southern Plantation, as the right arm of this Virginian body, with greater costs and numbers furnished from hence.

END OF VOLUME I

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